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Volume XV

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Number 5

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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of the Pacific States

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Editorial

THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

It was a notable meeting and a great credit to the officers who planned the program and to the whole Association. The intention had been to meet at the University of Toronto, and arrangements to this effect had been made with the speakers. However, after the programs had been printed, the epidemic of smallpox in Ontario made it necessary to transfer the meeting to some other place and the University of Pittsburgh very generously offered to become our host for a second time within ten years. As usual, the Archaeological Institute of America met at the same time and place. The sessions were held during the three days, December 29-31, 1919.

It is true that East is East and West is West. In spite of this fact, the twain do meet at Pittsburgh, which is conveniently situated between the two. The attendance was about 100, which is excellent when one considers all the facts in the case, that the meeting had to be transferred from one section to another, that traveling expenses are high. No more cordial welcome than that of Chancellor McCormick could be extended to the societies, and it was highly appreciated. The university and the city were at our service for the three days. From its actions one might suppose that the whole city had actually heard and taken to heart the words of the Chancellor. Even the trolley conductors and the policemen went out of their way to be good to us. Professor Laing was called upon to reply to the address of welcome, and his speech, too, charmed and delighted us all.

Often has it been said that philology and archaeology are dry. On this occasion in particular some may have supposed that this meeting would be extra dry. The falsity of this supposition was clearly revealed at every session. There was hardly a paper to which the term "dry" could be applied. The papers were even higher in scholarship than ever before, if that be possible; but nearly all of them were enlivened by brilliant touches of humor. The address of President Scott on "The Arguments Which Have Convinced Me of Homeric Unity" was throughout interrupted by applause. It was witty at times, though more often humorous, and always scholarly.

As was to be expected, the program had been planned to commemorate in a fitting manner the fiftieth anniversary of the Association. Three of the sessions were devoted to papers on various subjects selected by their authors. The other sessions were given to papers designed to show what has been done in the line of our endeavors during the last fifty years. It was a brilliant program. The varied subjects were well treated by the speakers, and yet, to repeat, there was nothing "extra dry" or even "dry" about any one of them. For instance, it might have been thought that "The History of the Association" could not escape aridity. If anyone had such an expectation as this, he was abundantly disappointed. The man chosen to deliver this address is the one best fitted for the task on account of his most intimate connection with the Association, Professor Frank Gardner Moore, who was secretary-treasurer for many years and president in 1917. It was a charming address. If history is ever a rattling of dry bones, it was quite otherwise on this occasion. Professor Moore told us what he was in duty bound to tell, but the way of putting it was his own.

The program of papers will be found under "Current Events."

After the annual address by President Scott on Monday evening, a reception was given by the university in the Fellows' Room, Mellon Institute. A thoroughly delightful hour was passed. On Tuesday the two societies were entertained at a luncheon given by the university in the Hotel Schenley. That is, it was called a "luncheon." The difference between it and a perfectly complete dinner would be difficult to explain. This was probably the best

"get together" of our meeting. About two hours after the beginning of the luncheon, most of us left to avail ourselves of the other attractions vouchsafed us for this afternoon. These were opportunities to visit and enjoy the art collections of the Carnegie Institute and the private collection of Mr. H. J. Heinz. A particularly enjoyable feature of the afternoon's entertainment was an organ recital by Mr. Charles Heinroth, the organist and director of music of the Carnegie Institute. The organ is new and of great compass. The selections were rendered with marvelous perfection in every detail of technique and feeling. Some of the selections were chosen to show the power of the organ, others for the pure delight of the music itself.

The attendance was somewhat smaller than it has been at a few other meetings, but we have never had a richer and more thoroughly interesting program. The enthusiasm and spirit exhibited during the entire period were wonderful. It was clearly shown that the Association is actually fifty years young. For the excellence of the program we are, of course, indebted to the officers of the Association and to the speakers. For all things concerning our entertainment and comfort while in Pittsburgh we owe a deep debt of gratitude to Professor Evan T. Sage. All of his many plans were carried out with absolute precision. There was no weak link in the chain and not a dull moment during the three days. It was a notable meeting.

Five institutions kindly offered to be our hosts a year hence. After much deliberation the Committee on Time and Place voted to recommend that the Association, in conjunction with the Institute, hold its next annual meeting at the Johns Hopkins University. This recommendation was approved by the Association and the Institute.

The officers elected for the coming year are: president, Clifford H. Moore; vice-presidents, Walter B. McDaniel and Francis G. Allinson; secretary-treasurer, Clarence P. Bill; members of the Executive Committee (in addition to the above), Angie Clara Chapin, Richard M. Gummere, Duane Reed Stuart, Maurice Hutton, and Gordon J. Laing. As the new member of the Nominating Committee President Scott appointed Frank Gardner Moore.

M. N. W.

HOW AND WHY: "JUST SO" MYTHOLOGY IN OVID'S *METAMORPHOSES*

BY EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY
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One of the most naïve and charming tendencies manifested by primitive philosophy is that illustrated by aetiological myths, or, to use Kipling's picturesque designation, "just so stories."¹ It seems to have been inbred in the mind of primitive man to assume that striking characteristics of things in the natural world had not always been as he found them. The savage takes it for granted that there was once greater uniformity in the traits, habits, and appearance of birds, beasts, and human beings, or in the color of fruit and the properties of other things in nature. In the childhood of the world, man must have been as curious to have things explained as are children today. Some explanation, correct or incorrect, had to be given, and nothing but a very explicit explanation was satisfactory. Gradually there grew up a body of tradition which accounted for the supposed transformation from the old order to the new.

Such stories, which abound in the cultured languages of the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, exist in even greater number in savage mythologies today.² The fact that they are found among races of a low stage of culture or among simple-minded folk would indicate that those occurring in the classical literatures are in general heirlooms from a similar state of society. Some of them may have traveled hundreds of miles in migrations. It is the purpose of the present paper to note the aetiological stories in

¹ In his *Just So Stories*, Kipling demonstrates the literary possibilities of the aetiological story. He tells "How the Whale Got His Throat," "How the Camel Got His Hump," "How the Leopard Got His Spots," etc.

² "The Ojibbeways told Kohl that they had a story for every creature, accounting for its ways and appearance. Among the Greeks, as among Australians and Bushmen, we find nearly every bird or beast had its traditions" (Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, I, 142).

Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and to quote parallels from all quarters of the globe.¹ The comparative method will give some insight into the state of mind responsible for their original composition.

HOW THE CROW BECAME BLACK

Apparently the crow (or raven), the most cosmopolitan of birds, was once white the world around. In classic myth it was changed to black by the curse of Apollo for having ungraciously reported to him the faithlessness of his mistress Coronis (ii. 531-632). Ovid thus describes its original color and its fate:

Nam fuit haec quondam niveis argentea pennis
Ales, ut aequaret totas sine labe columbas (536-37).
Lingua fuit damno: lingua faciente loquaci
Qui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo (540-41).²

An Australian version runs as follows:

The crane was an expert fisherman, and one day when he had caught a large number of fish, the crow (who was white) came along and asked the crane to give him some; but the latter answered, "Wait a while until they are cooked." The crow, however, being hungry, kept begging to be allowed to take the fish, only to hear the crane always reply, "Wait." So at last, when his back was turned, the crow started to steal the fish, but the crane saw him, and seizing one of them, he threw it at the crow and hit him across the eyes. Blinded by the blow, the crow fell into the burnt grass, rolling about in pain; and when he got up, his eyes were white, but his body became as black as crows have been ever since.³

According to the Bella Coola Indian tribes, "Crow was sitting on a tree when Mink [an Indian Phaëthon] made the Earth World

¹ The following bibliography, which is intentionally restricted, will be referred to by authors' names only: G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*; H. B. Alexander, *Mythology of All Races, North American*; E. Dayrell, *Folk Stories from Southern Nigeria, West Africa*; R. B. Dixon, *Mythology of All Races, Oceanic*; M. Gaster, *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories*; W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*; L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, Vol. I; Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis*; K. B. Judson, *Myths and Legends of British America*; A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion* (1887); C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*; J. Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees, Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (1897-98), Part I; D. Tanner, *Legends from the Red Man's Forest*.

Gaster's is the most complete collection of aetiological tales from any one country. His book of 368 pages is devoted almost entirely to them.

² Cf. Antoninus Liberalis xx; Hyg. *Fab.* 202; Hyg. *Astron.* ii. 40; Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, 3.

³ Dixon, p. 292.

to burn. The smoke was so black that it made Crow black all over. Before that Crow had been white; so the Indians say" (Judson, p. 49).

In still another quarter of the world we find a different story. The Mundas of Bengal have the following explanation:

Sing Bonga, the chief god, cast certain people out of heaven; they fell to earth, found iron ore, and began smelting it. The black smoke displeased Sing Bonga, who sent two king crows and an owl to bid people cease to pollute the atmosphere. But the iron smelters spoiled these birds' tails, and blackened the previously white crow, scorched its beak red, and flattened its head (Lang, I, 150).¹

SPOTTED BREASTS

Stories accounting for the spotted breasts of birds are likewise common. When Philomela and Procne, after having served Tereus the flesh of his son Itys, were being pursued by the angered father, they were transformed into birds, *neque adhuc de pectore caedis excessere notae, signataque sanguine pluma est* (vi. 669-70).²

¹ There is, however, one story which assumes that crows were originally entirely black. "The Bushmen have a myth explanatory of the white patches on the breasts of crows in their country. Some men tarried long at their hunting, and their wives sent out crows in search of their husbands. Round each crow's neck was hung a piece of fat to serve as food for the journey. Hence the crows have white patches on breast and neck" (Lang, I, 147).

² Of much the same purport are the following lines with regard to Philomela in *Anthol. Lat. Suppl.* 13:

Decidit exanimis vox ipsa et frigida lingua.
Haut impune quidem dementia cepit amantem.
Pectore in adverso saevi monumenta doloris
Fertque refertque soror, crimenque et facta tyranni
Sanguis ait. Solidae postquam data copia fandi,
(Vulnera siccatat circum praecordia) "Sanguis,
Accipe," ait, "vocem," ac saevo sic pectore fatur.

The following Albanian story is worth relating because it suggests the cutting out of Philomela's tongue by Tereus: "There once lived two brothers who were very jealous of each other and were constantly quarreling. They had a mother who was wont to say to them: 'Do not wrangle, my boys, do not wrangle and quarrel, or Heaven will be wroth against you, and you shall be parted.' But the youths would not listen to their parent's wise counsels, and at last Heaven waxed wroth and carried off one of them. Then the other wept bitterly, and in his grief and remorse prayed to God to give him wings, that he might fly in quest of his brother. God in His mercy heard the prayer and transformed the penitent youth into a gyon. The peasants interpret the bird's mournful note *gyon! gyon!* as 'Anton! Anton!' or 'Gion! Gion!' (Albanian form of John)—the departed brother's name—and maintain that it lets fall three drops of blood from its beak every time it calls" (Abbott, pp. 290-91).

Compare *manibus Procne pectus signata cruentis* (Verg. *Georg.* iv. 15).¹

In Rumanian legend deeds of blood are conspicuous. The red spot on the breast of the swallow is the blood of her daughter-in-law, whom she had murdered before her transformation (Gaster, p. 188). Still another story says that the breast of the swallow is red from the blood of a fish in which was found a lost ring (Gaster, pp. 267-71). The red breast of the bullfinch is the gore of the victims whose blood he had sucked when he was a brutish grocer (Gaster, p. 158). In the Upper Yukon

Long ago a hungry Marten went to an Indian camp. The Indians around the camp fire were eating salmon. Marten sat still and watched them. He was hungry and he watched this Indian and then that. Then an Indian threw at him a piece of red salmon. It struck Marten on the breast and the reddish mark is there even to this day.²

MARKINGS ON TAILS

Great changes have taken place likewise in the color of the tails of bird and beast. The gaily ornamented caudal feathers of the peacock owe their beauty to the hundred eyes of Argus:

Arge, iaces, quodque in tot lumina lumen habebas,
Exstinctum est, centumque oculos nox occupat una.
Excipit hos volucrisque suae Saturnia pennis
Conlocat et gemmis caudam stellantibus implet (i. 720-23).

In Pueblo myth the markings of the turkey's tail are due to the fact that it was touched by the foaming waters of a flood (Alexander, p. 203). When Mink, the Phaëthon of the Bella Coola Indians, was carrying the torches of the sun, "The animals tried to hide under the rocks and caves. Ermine crept into a hole which was not quite large enough, so the end of his tail stuck

¹ In all Greek literature it is Philomela who is represented as being changed into the swallow, while Procne becomes the nightingale. In Latin the situation is generally reversed, due, perhaps, to the folk-etymology of philomela as "song-lover." The following distich is interesting for the additional etymology of "night lover":

Sum noctis socia, sum cantus dulcis amica:

Nomen ab ambiguo sic philomela gero (*Anthol. Lat.* [Riese], 658).

² Judson, *Myths and Legends of Alaska*, p. 126.

out. That is why Ermine is white with a black tip to his tail" (Judson, p. 47).¹

COLOR OF MAN

In similar fashion, the color of the greatest animal, man, is accounted for mythically. Ovid tells us (ii. 235-36) that the people of Africa are black because the chariot of the sun when driven by Phaëthon approached too near and scorched them. A fable of Hyginus assumes that the people of India were once white: *Indi, quod calore vicini ignis sanguis in atrum colorem versus est, nigri sunt facti* (Fab. 154). "Black people are so coloured, according to the Ovaherero [neighbors of the South African Bushmen], because when the first parents emerged from the tree [out of which men were born] and slew an ox, the ancestress of the blacks appropriated the black liver of the victim" (Lang, I, 176).

Not all stories, however, postulate white as the original color of mankind.

Dark-skinned races, wanting some reasonable theory to account for the appearance among them of human creatures of a new strange sort, the white men, and struck with their pallid deathly hue combined with powers that seem those of superhuman spiritual beings, have determined that the manes of their dead must have come back in this wondrous shape. The aborigines of Australia have expressed this theory in the simple formula, "Black fellow tumble down, jump up white fellow."²

A refreshingly naïve story of Uncle Remus explains the change from black to white. Some people are white because they managed to bathe in a certain pool. Late comers, however, found the water all but exhausted, and could wet only the palms of their hands and the soles of their feet. That is the reason why only these

¹ Many references to stories accounting for colors of animals might be given: e.g., Why Curlew has red legs (Australia), Dixon, p. 291; Why Rail has a red lump on his head (Melanesia), Dixon, p. 144; How Redbird got his color (Cherokee), Mooney, p. 289; Why Woodpecker has two tiny red stripes on sides of head (Wyandot), Judson, p. 200; Why Woodpecker's tuft is crimson (American Indian), Longfellow, *Hiawatha*, chap. ix, near end; Why Woodpecker has a red crown (American Indian), Tanner, p. 51; Why Chipmunk has stripes (Thompson River), Judson, p. 202; How Chipmunk got his black stripe (American Indian), Tanner, p. 40; Why Avini has beautiful stripes on the side (South Pacific), Gill, p. 91; Why Bush Rat has white spots on skin (Southern Nigeria), Dayrell, p. 93; etc., etc.

² Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 5.

parts of negroes are white.¹ "Niggers is niggers now, but de time was w'en we 'uz all niggers tergedder."

According to the Cree Indians, white men and black men are mistakes.

When Great One made mankind, he first made an earth oven. Then he modeled a man of clay and put him in to bake. He was not baked enough and came out white. Great One tried again, but this time he baked the man too long. He came out black. The third time Great One baked the man just the correct time, and he came out red. That is the reason why different races have different colors (Judson, p. 109).

CRIES OF BIRDS

The distinctive cries or songs of birds are made the subject of numerous stories. In a contest between the Muses and Pierides (v. 294-678), the presumptuous maidens were vanquished and changed into magpies, in which state they chatter as before:

Nunc quoque in alitibus facundia prisca remansit
Rauca garrulitas studiumque immane loquendi (v. 677-78).

The sad complaining note of the halcyon (xi. 734-35) is a heritage of a wife's grief for her husband (xi. 410-748).² From the ashes of the smoldering city of Ardea there flew forth a heron (*ardea* = heron). Its cry (*sonus*) together with its slenderness and paleness is such as befits a captured city (xiv. 578-80). Strange to say, Ovid does not mention in the *Metamorphoses* the mournful character of the cries of Procne and Philomela when transformed into birds, although attention was called time after time by classical writers to this quality of their song or twitter.³

In telling the supposed beggar of her longing for Ulysses during his absence, Penelope compared her brief to that of the nightin-

¹ J. C. Harris, *Uncle Remus* (1908), p. 164.

² The sadness of the halcyon was noted as early as Homer: see *Iliad* ix. 561 ff.; cf. Eur. *Iph. in Taur.* 1089 ff. See also Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, p. 29.

³ On the melancholy strain of the nightingale, see Aesch. *Agam.* 1140-45; *Suppl.* 58-62; Soph. *El.* 107-9, 147-49, 1077; Eur. *Rhes.* 550; *Frag.* 775 Nauck; Prop. ii. 20. 4-7; Ovid *Trist.* ii. 390; iv. 481; Ovid *Cons. ad Liv.* 105; *Pervig. Ven.* 87. Still other references are to be found in Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

The subject of the nightingale is sympathetically treated by E. W. Fay, "Studies of Latin Words in *-cinio-*, *-cinia-*," *Classical Review*, XVIII (1904), 303-7; see also Martin, *The Birds of the Latin Poets*, s. v., *lusciniæ*.

gale as "with many a turn and trill she pours forth her full-voiced music, bewailing her child, dear Itylus, whom on a time she slew with a sword unwitting, Itylus, the son of Zethus the prince"¹ (*Odys.* xix. 521-23).

Parallels to Ovid's stories can readily be found. The Australian account of the crane and crow, part of which has already been quoted, goes on to explain how the crane came to make a rasping noise:

Resolving to get even with the crane, the crow bided his time, and when the latter was asleep one day with his mouth open, he put a fish-bone across the base of the crane's tongue and hurried away. On awaking, the crane felt as though he were choking and tried to get the bone out of his mouth; but in so doing he made a queer scraping noise, which was all he could do, for the bone stuck fast; and so ever since the only sound that a crane can make is "gah-rah-gah, gah-rah-gah" (Dixon, p. 292).

The Cherokees tell why Turkey gobbles.

The Grouse used to have a fine voice and a good halloo in the ball-play. All the animals and birds used to play ball in those days and were just as proud of a loud halloo as the ball players of to-day. The Turkey had not a good voice, so he asked the Grouse to give him lessons. The Grouse agreed to teach him, but wanted pay for his trouble, and the Turkey promised to give him some feathers to make himself a collar. That is how the Grouse got his collar of feathers. They began the lessons and the Turkey learned very fast until the Grouse thought it was time to try his voice. "Now," said the Grouse, "I'll stand on this hollow log, and when I give the signal by tapping on it, you must halloo as loudly as you can." So he got upon a log ready to tap on it, as a grouse does, but when he gave the signal, the Turkey was so eager and excited that he could not raise his voice for a shout, but only gobbled, and ever since then he gobbles whenever he hears a noise (Mooney, p. 288).²

¹ "The story hinted at here is told in detail by the scholiast on the passage. Zethus had married Aëdon, daughter of Pandareus; their children were Itylus and Neis. His mother Aëdon killed Itylus by night, thinking he was the child of Amphion, and being envious of Amphion's wife because that woman had six children and she had only two; and Zeus sent a penalty upon her. But she prayed to be a bird and Zeus made her a nightingale, and she ever laments Itylus her son" (Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. lxxxvi).

² Cf. also Why Cock crows at dawn, Lucian, *Gallus* 3; Why Crow has a raucous voice (Pacific Coast Indians), Alexander, p. 228; How Partridge got his whistle (Cherokee), Mooney, p. 289; Why does Turtledove coo (Rumanian), Gaster, p. 149; Why does Cricket chirp (Rumanian), Gaster, p. 205; Why does Cuckoo call "cuckoo" (Rumanian), Gaster, p. 225-27; Why Squirrel barks (American Indian), Tanner, p. 43.

In savage mythology it frequently happens that the resemblance of the cry or note of a bird to a word or name gives rise to a story. Ovid does not account for any metamorphoses in this manner, although it is very probable that some of his stories owe their origin among the Greeks to some such fortuitous likeness. We are told that at the death of the male halcyon the female refrains from food and drink for a long while, and that when it is on the point of ceasing its plaints, it cries continuously, κῆϋξ, κῆϋξ (which suggests the name Ceyx) and finally lapses into silence (Dion. *De Avib.* 2.7). Again, we are informed by the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Av.* 212) that when Tereus, after banqueting unknowingly upon his son (who, by the way, was all "cut up" over the affair) was pursuing Procne, she cried pitifully, Ἴτν, Ἴτν,¹ Philomela shouted Τηρεῦ in fear, while Tereus exclaimed, ποῦ; ποῦ; "Where? Where?" These cries, says the scholiast, they retained after their metamorphosis into birds. Ovid found it impossible, of course, to reproduce accurately these features of the story.²

The notion that birds lament old human sorrows is quite common. "From one end of Africa to another the honey-bird, *schneter*, is said to be an old woman whose son was lost, and who pursued him till she was turned into a bird, which still shrieks his name, 'Schneter! Schneter!'" (Lang, I, 141). The exclamation of Tereus is not without parallel. In Macedonian folk-lore Metro slays his brother for not finding a lost horse. In remorse he called on God to change him into a bird. He was transformed into a peewit and ever since cries, *Pool? Pool?* (i.e., "Where is it? Where is it?").³ Somewhat similar is the story of two Albanian brothers called Gjon and their sister Kjukje. On one occasion a brother was coming toward his sister, who was so busy she did not notice him. Suddenly she raised her scissors and pierced him to the

¹ Roscher, *s.v.*, *aedon* holds that the name "Itys" or "Itylus" is not like the cry of the bird. Jebb, however, says in his note to Soph. *El.* 148 that "The reiterated Ἴτν was heard in the nightingale's note: cf. Eur. *Frag.* 773.25, ὀρθρονομένη γόους Ἴτν Ἴτν πολέθρηνον, and Aesch. *Agam.* 1144."

² Many Latin words imitative of the cries of birds and animals are listed in H. T. Peck, "Onomatopoeic Words in Latin," *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, pp. 226-39. See also *Anthol. Lat.* (Riese), 730, 733, 762.

³ Abbott, p. 292.

heart. She grieved so over his death that he became the bird gjon (a small owl), while she was turned into a cuckoo. In searching for the other brother by night the gjon calls, "Gjon! Gjon!" while by day the cuckoo cries, "Ku? Ku?" "Where? Where?" (Hahn, *Märchen*, No. 104).

In German story the cries of Bittern and Hoopoe are legacies from their life as cowherds.¹ Bittern pastured his herd upon rich green meadows where vegetation grew in abundance, so that his cows became spirited and wild. In the evening when he wanted to bring them together they were overfed and ran from him. *Bunt, herüm!* (i.e., *Bunte Kuh, herum!* "Pretty Cow, come here!"), he cried. The Hoopoe pastured his cows in high, rough places where there was but little to eat. At evening they were so weak that he could not get them on their feet. "Up! up! up!" he cried. As birds the former cowherds retain the same cries.²

TRAITS AND HABITS

Traits and habits and physical constitution are likewise explained by aetiological stories. Partridge did not always fly fast and low and build his nest upon the ground. The acquisition of these characteristics is explained by the story of Perdix, whom his uncle Daedalus in a fit of jealousy thrust off a cliff.

Quae favet ingeniis, excepit Pallas, avemque
Reddidit, et medio velavit in aëre pennis.
Sed vigor ingenii quondam velocis in alas
Inque pedes abiit: nomen quod et ante, remansit.
Non tamen haec alte volucris sua corpora tollit,
Nec facit in ramis altoque cacumine nidos;
Propter humum volitat, ponitque in saepibus ova,
Antiquique memor metuit sublimia casus (viii. 252-59).

¹ *Kinder- und Hausmaerchen gesammelt durch die Brueder Grimm, Jubiläums-Auflage*, p. 504.

² A few references may be given to similar stories: e.g., Why Ring-Dove cries *Dechocho* (=18), *Dechocho* (Macedonian), Abbott, p. 293; Why Hawk cries *Kea* (=short neck), *Kea, Kea* (Eastern Eskimo), Judson, p. 112; Why Raven cries *Kak* (=blanket), *Kak, Kak* (Eastern Eskimo), Judson, p. 112; Why Curlew cries *Bou-you-gwai-gwai!* (=O, my poor red legs!), *Bou-you-gwai-gwai!* (Australia), Dixon, pp. 291-92.

Swan does not fly high because Cynus, the friend of Phaëthon, remembered, when transformed into this strange new bird, the fiery bolt of Jove and feared to trust himself to the heavens (ii. 367-80).¹ Spider spins as a punishment for presumption. The maiden Arachne (*arachne*=spider) refused to yield the palm in spinning and weaving to Minerva. As a result she was transformed by the goddess and doomed to spin forever (vi. 5-145).² The large beak of Hoopoe (epops), which has a *facies armata*, is a memorial of the *cusps*³ with which as Tereus he pursued Procne and Philomela (vi. 647-74).⁴ As a fugitive bird Procne *tecta subit* (vi. 669) and hence swallows have loved the haunts of man ever since. In the country of Tereus, however, "swallows neither lay eggs nor hatch them, indeed, a swallow would not even build its nest on the roof of a house" (Paus. x. 4. 9).

The absence of feathers on the head of Ciris, a bird as yet unidentified, is a reminder of treachery (viii. 6-151). Nisus, King of Megara, "had growing on his head, amidst his locks of honoured grey, a brilliant purple lock on whose preservation rested the safety of the throne" (viii. 8-10). His daughter Scylla, falling in love with King Minos, who was besieging the city, cut off the tress and gave it to the enemy. For this betrayal she was turned into a bird with *tonsus capillus*, i.e., a featherless or bald head.⁵

¹ Bullfinch, *Age of Fable*, p. 59, states that the swan "frequently thrusts its head into the water as if to continue the search" for Phaëthon. I do not know the ancient source for this statement.

² Cf. Why Silkworm spins a thin thread (Rumanian), Gaster, pp. 192-93.

³ The scholiast on Aristophanes (*Av.* 212) says the weapon was a sword; Apollodorus (iii. 14. 8) represents it as an axe. A Neapolitan vase shows Tereus armed with two spears. See Oder, "Eer Wiedehopf in der griechischen Sage," *Rhein. Mus.*, XLIII, 555, n. 1.

⁴ The crest helps to give Hoopoe a martial aspect. In Rumanian story it is explained as the tuft of Cuckoo which Hoopoe borrowed in order to attend the wedding of Lark. After the ceremony Hoopoe disregarded all requests for its return (Gaster, pp. 229-30).

⁵ In Korea, magpies, which are there numbered by millions, desert their usual haunts once every year on the seventh day of the seventh month in order to form a bridge or pathway for lovers dwelling on either side of the River of Stars (Milky Way). The feathers of their head "have been entirely worn off by the trampling of the crowd of retainers who followed the Prince of Star Land across the bridge to meet his bride." W. E. Griffis, *The Unmannerly Tiger and Other Korean Tales*, p. 105 ff.

Buzzard lost his topknot as a result of a plot by other birds (Cherokee), Mooney, p. 293.

Other sections of the *Metamorphoses* might be entitled: Why Nyctimene (Owl) is nocturnal, ii. 591-95;¹ why Frog lives in water, vi. 317-81; why Monedula (Daw) delights in gold, vii. 465-68; why Weasel brings forth young through the mouth, ix. 275-323;² why Hawk is rapacious, xi. 289-345; why Mergus is long and slender and dives, xi. 749-95; why Woodpecker pecks, xiv. 320-96;³ why Heron is lean⁴ and pale, xiv. 573-80; why man is *genus durum experiensque laborum* i, 348-415.⁵

A few parallels may be noted. In Rumanian story a mother-in-law kills her daughter-in-law with a pair of knives. When changed into a swallow, she has a scissors-shaped tail, a reminder of the weapons with which she committed the deed (Gaster, pp. 188-89). The Eastern Eskimo explains why Hare throws his ears back:

Once a child in an Indian camp had such long ears that everyone laughed at him. At last he went off into the brush and lived by himself. Therefore he was changed into a hare. When Hare sees anyone near, he lays his ears down flat, for if he hears a person shout, he thinks he is laughing at his long ears. He does this even yet. Hare has no tail now because he formerly did not have one (Judson, p. 111).

In Indo-Aryan literature donkeys are slow because they never recovered from their supreme exertions in a race when the Asvins urged them on to win a contest (Lang, I, 150).

Rumanians explain how Woodpecker was once an old woman with a very long nose and how she pried into everybody's business. God gave her a huge sack filled with all kinds of insects and told her not to put her nose into it. This the old hag did and the insects escaped. She was changed into a woodpecker and the

¹ Cf. Serv. *ad Verg. Georg.* i. 403; Hyg. *Fab.* 204 and 205.

² This idea, which long persisted, is probably due to false conclusions reached through the sight of the mother carrying its young suspended from the mouth. Compare Antoninus Liberalis, 29.

³ According to Antoninus Liberalis 11, the bill of Woodpecker is the transformed tool of Polytechnus, a craftsman.

⁴ Cf. why Heron has attenuated legs (Victoria), Lang, I, 147-48; why Wolf is lean (Eastern Eskimo), Judson, p. 111.

⁵ Ovid regards the stones with which Deucalion and Pyrrha re-peopled the earth as *ossa magna parentis* (i. 383), i.e., as bones of the earth. The Latin did not permit him to retain the Greek association of λίθας (stone) with λαός (people). See Hesiod *apud* Strabo vii. 322.

long beak is the long nose. To this day she is still pecking for insects (Gaster, p. 140-41).

The Choctaw story of the raccoon and the opossum tells how, long ago, both of these animals possessed bushy tails, but the opossum's tail was white, whereas the raccoon's was beautifully striped. At the raccoon's advice, the opossum undertook to brown the hairs of his tail at a fire, but his lack of caution caused the hair to burn, and his tail has been smooth ever since (Alexander, p. 65).

The best known aetiological story is found in Genesis. It assumes (and it is unwittingly correct) that the serpent once had legs. As a punishment for the part played by the serpent in the Garden of Eden, it was doomed forever to creep upon its belly. The pronouncement that the seed of woman shall bruise the serpent's head assumes, apparently, that its head was not always flat.¹

CHARACTERISTICS OF TREES AND FLOWERS

"Just so" stories are not confined to the animal kingdom. They are told about trees, fruits, and flowers. The mulberry tree used to bear white fruit (*poma alba ferebat*, iv. 51), but after its roots were drenched with the blood of Pyramus and Thisbe it produced dark berries.

At tu, quae ramis arbor miserabile corpus
Nunc tegis unius, mox es tectura duorum,
Signa tene caedis, pullosque et luctibus aptos
Semper habe fetus, gemini monumenta cruoris.
Dixit [Thisbe], et aptato pectus mucrone sub imum
Incubuit ferro, quod adhuc a caede tepebat.
Vota temen tetigere deos, tetigere parentes;
Nam color in pomo est, ubi permaturuit, ater (iv. 158-65).

¹ In order to show the diffusion of these stories, it seems worth while to give a few references: e.g., how Cock got crest, spurs, and courage, Euth. *ad Hom.* 1598. 61; why Swallow frequents homes of men, Aes. *Fab.* 12; why Raven has an awkward hop in his gait (Jewish), Ginzberg, I, 39; why Kangaroo has a tail (Australia), Dixon, p. 290; how Turtle got his shell (Melanesia), Dixon, p. 145; why Worm lives beneath the ground (Southern Nigeria), Dayrell, pp. 56-57; why Sole swims flatwise (South Pacific), Gill, p. 92; why Donkey's ears are long (Spanish), Lang, I, 140; why Mr. Possum has no hair on tail, J. C. Harris, *Uncle Remus*, p. 129; how Possum got his big mouth (North American Indian), Alexander, p. 64; how Turkey got his beard (Cherokee), Mooney, p. 287; why Rattlesnakes have rattles (Algonquin), Leland, pp. 110-11.

All the works just referred to give similar examples.

Sadness and grief are recorded in other trees also. Amber is the hardened tears of the Heliades, who were turned into poplar trees while weeping for their brother Phaëthon (ii. 340-66; cf. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 597 ff.).¹ Myrrh, which is distilled from tree-trunks, is a memorial of the tears of the repentant Myrrha (x. 298-502).

According to an Italian story the weeping willow did not always weep.

After Adam and Eve were banished from the Garden of Eden, two angels came down from heaven and rested on a willow tree, where they wept so much for man's misfortune that the abundance of their tears ran down the branches and caused them to grow down instead of up. Therefore, ever after, it has been called the "weeping willow."²

When Ulysses was awarded the arms of Achilles, Ajax in grief flung himself upon his sword. From the blood-covered ground there sprang "that sanguine flower inscribed with woe," the hyacinth. The letters AI AI (= αἰαῖ, "Vae! Vae!"), which are still plainly visible upon the *Delphinium Aiacis*,³ record not only a cry of woe, but also the first syllable, twice repeated, of the name of the hero (xiii. 382-98).⁴ Another story associates the hyacinth too with blood and says that it commemorates the grief of Apollo over his killing Hyacinthus by an unlucky bound of the discus (x. 162-219). Pausanias, however, differentiates between the flowers in these accounts (i. 35.4), but it is clear that Ovid regards them as the same (see xiii. 397).

Still another flower legend tells of "mad Clytie whose head is turned by the sun." She pined away from unreciprocated love and became a heliotrope (iv. 206-70). Although roots hold her fast, she ever turns toward the sun, *Vertitur ad solem mutataque*

¹ Lucian tells with mock seriousness in *De Electro* how he searched along the Eridanus for some of this lachrymal amber and how the boatmen of whom he made inquiries scoffed at him. See also Plin. *N.H.* xxxvii. 2. 31 ff.

² *Encyclopaedia of Superstitions, Folklore and the Occult Sciences*, II, 863.

³ See Frazer, *Golden Bough*, V, 314, n. 1.

⁴ Frazer's commentary on Pausanias (iii. 19.5) notes that a vase-painting which depicts Ajax about to commit suicide shows the flower springing from the ground inscribed with the full name of Ajax (*Compte Rendu* [St. Petersburg, 1861], p. 139).

servat amorem (iv. 270).¹ This action explains the name heliotrope (*ἥλιος*, "sun" + *τροπή*, "a turning").

In the legend of Venus and Adonis (x. 524-739), Ovid tells us that the blood of the youth was changed into the anemone (728) and that the flower is frail and short-lived (737-39). "By its caducity it expresses the brief period of the life of the beautiful son of Myrrha."² The story is told in Greek to account for the color of the flower.³ Before the calamity to Adonis it was white, but it got a red tinge from the blood of the beautiful youth. The same version tells how the rose became red. In grief at Adonis' fate, Aphrodite ran barefoot, and pricking her feet upon thorns of rose-briars she reddened the flowers with her blood.

Laurel is an evergreen as a memorial to the ever-unshorn locks of Apollo (i. 564-65):

Utque meum intonsis caput est iuvenale capillis,
Tu quoque perpetuos semper gere frondis honores.⁴

The bitterness of wild olives is in memory of the asperity of an Apulian shepherd who was changed into a tree because of his boorish insults to nymphs (xiv. 517-26). Once upon a time coral was a soft and tender growth, but when Perseus laid the snaky head of Medusa upon it, it became rigid, and to this day it retains its hard nature (iv. 740-52).

HOW CERTAIN THINGS CAME TO BE

There are traditions also about the creation of animal and plant life. The deadly serpents of Libya sprang from the drops

¹ Compare Moore:

The heart that has truly loved never forgets,
But as truly loves on to the close;
As the sunflower turns on her god when he sets
The same look that she turned when he rose.

² See Keightley's *Mythology*, p. 142.

³ Eudoc. 27; cf. Tzetzes *Schol. ad Lycophron* 831.

⁴ An American Indian legend tells why the spruce and pine are evergreen trees. A little bird with a broken wing once approached a forest and asked the trees for hospitality. All refused except the spruce and pine, which offered shelter, and the juniper, which proffered berries. When the North Wind came, the Frost King allowed to remain green only the trees which had been kind to the birds. See S. C. Bryant, *How to Tell Stories to Children*, p. 153.

of blood that fell from the head of Medusa as Perseus flew above the sandy wastes (iv. 617-20). In another place Ovid mentions in cursory fashion the belief that snakes in general originated from the marrow of corpses disintegrating in the grave (xv. 389-90).¹ He is equally brief in recording the notion that men sprang from mushrooms (vii. 392-93).

The story of Apollo and Daphne (i. 452-567) accounts for the existence of laurel since before the god saw the maiden *Nondum laurus erat* (i. 450). Aconite grew from the flecks of white foam which flew from the mouth of Cerberus as he was being dragged along by Hercules (vii. 404-19). The touchstone (*index*) commemorates the deceit of the old man Battus (ii. 687-707). The episode of Pan and Syrinx is narrated to explain how the musical properties of the reed, or Pan's pipe, were discovered (i. 687-712).

NATURAL PHENOMENA

Natural phenomena too are explained by myths. Dew is the tears of Aurora mourning for her son Memnon (xiii. 574-622). Echo is the voice of a nymph who persisted in having the last word (iii. 356-69). Presumably, the source of the Nile was known before Phaëthon's rash adventure (ii. 254-55):

Nilus in extremum fugit perterritus orbem
Occulitque caput, quod adhuc latet.

RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS

Ovid devotes some attention to the origin of religious notions and practices. The story of Cyparissus explains why the cypress is associated with mourning (x. 105-42). The youth unwittingly shot a stag. In his brief he begged Apollo that he might be allowed to mourn forever. He was forthwith changed into a cypress tree and Apollo sadly complied with his wishes: *Lugebere nobis lugebisque alios aderisque colentibus* (x. 141-42). The pine is sacred to the mother of the gods, "since Attis, dear to Cybele, exchanged for this his human form and stiffened in its trunk" (x. 104-5). The pig is sacrificed for uprooting crops; the goat for browsing upon the vine (xv. 111-15). These are obviously aetiological explanations for

¹ This story is obviously due to the sinuosity characteristic of the backbone and of the snake.

customs which had originated so far back in the mythical past that the reasons for them had been forgotten.¹

EPONYMOUS LEGENDS

Akin to the aetiological tales are those setting forth how geographical designations got their names from some eponymous creature, man or animal: e.g., Boeotia (iii. 10-13); the Marsyas River (vi. 382-400); the Cliffs of Sciron (vii. 443-47); Miletus (ix. 443-49); the Island of Paphos (x. 243-97); Cynossema (xiii. 533-71).²

Aetiological stories are primitive man's origin of species. They are a portion of his science; they treat of cause and effect, but the properties of animals, plants, and trees which he thus accounted for are now recognized as the cause of the stories, and not the result of the incidents or accidents described in them. As Mrs. Browning sings,

Earth outgrows the mythic fancies
Sung beside her in her youth.

These legends illustrate "the general axiom of folklore that the primitive man, whose beliefs survive in our superstitions, conceived of no manifestation of natural forces or organic life except as due to a personality. To him, the causes of all effects are never things or laws, but always persons."³

¹ The reasons for many Old Testament customs are explained in a manner equally unsatisfactory: "We perform the rite of circumcision," says Gunkel, pp. 31-32, "in memory of Moses, whose firstborn was circumcised as a redemption for Moses whose blood God demanded (Exod. 4:24 ff.). We rest on the seventh day because God at the creation of the world rested on the seventh day (a myth, because God himself is the actor in it). The muscle of the thigh is sacred to us because God struck Jacob on this muscle while wrestling with him at Penueel (Gen. 32:33). The stone at Bethel was first anointed by Jacob because it was his pillow in the night when God appeared to him (Gen. 28:11 ff.). At Jeruel—this is the name of the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac, 22:1-19—God at first demanded of Abraham his child, but afterward accepted a ram. We 'limp' at Penueel in imitation of Jacob, who limped there when his hip was lamed in the wrestling with God (Gen. 32:32). And so on." In the same way the story of the Tower of Babel tells how there came to be so many different languages.

² In many etymological legends, the features which explain the name were invented for this very purpose. "The incident of Abraham's giving Abimelech seven (sheba) lambs at Beersheba (Gen. 21:28 ff.) was surely invented to explain this name; also the laughing of Isaac's mother (18:12-15) (Gunkel, p. 35)."

³ K. F. Smith, *Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve*, p. 294.

A few suggestions may be made as to the method of creation of stories of metamorphosis. In the course of migrations the various races came upon fauna and flora that were new to them. They seem to have assumed that things strange to them must at one time have resembled those with which they were familiar. We are told expressly by Ovid that the story of Pyramus and Thisbe is narrated to account for the change in the color of mulberries, which had previously been white. The narrative has an eastern setting. A tribe moving westward from a region where the white mulberry was common might have adapted it to explain the strange new color of the fruit.¹

A curse or a doom pronounced may account for certain characteristics, e.g., for the spinning of the spider in Ovid's story and for the creeping of the serpent in the biblical narrative. Occasionally such stories do suggest a moral, although that never seems to be the outstanding feature of them. In this respect they form, perhaps, a transitional stage between the purely aetiological story and the beast fable.

One aspect of the aetiological process is clearly exemplified by stories in the Old Testament concerning the origin of certain religious ceremonies and practices.

If the grown people became too blunted by custom to be able to perceive the strange and unintelligible features of the custom, they were roused from their indifference by the questions of the children. When the children see their father perform all sorts of curious customs during the Feast of the Passover, they will ask—thus it is expressly told, *Exod. 12:26; 13:14*—"What does this mean?" and then the story of the Passover is to be told them. A similar direction is given with relation to the twelve stones in the Jordan (*Josh. 4:6*), which the father is to explain as memorials of the passage of the Jordan. In these examples, then, we see clearly how such a legend is the answer to a question.²

Ovid's explanations of several religious practices are of an even more makeshift nature. He did not know, for instance, why the pig and the goat were sacrificed, but some answer had to be given.

¹ The white mulberry was introduced into Europe from Asia.

² Gunkel, pp. 30-31.

Red suggests blood, and, as we have seen, some deed of blood is usually told to account for the red markings of birds.¹

The song or note of a bird may sound sad and mournful. The reason for the grief must be explained. In speaking of the fate of Procne and Philomela, Pausanias (i. 41. 9) says: "The story that they were turned into a nightingale and swallow was suggested, I suppose, by the plaintive and dirgelike song of these birds." When Greek literature dawns, the nightingale and halcyon already have a well-established reputation as grief-stricken birds. Varro records a popular etymology to the effect that *lusciniola* means "grief singer."²

Some stories owe their origin to a sort of word-play. *Ardea* is the name of a city and a bird. *Ciris* is connected with *κείρω*, "to shear." Again, the cry of a bird may sound like the name of a person or thing, or even like a sentence, and so establish a cue for an aetiological story.

A striking illustration of the mental attitude responsible for these stories is seen in an experience of Frances Little among some simple-minded Japanese girls:

You would smile to see their curiosity concerning me. They think my waist is very funny and they measure it with their hands and laugh aloud. One girl asked me in all seriousness if I had pieces cut out of my sides, and another wanted to know if my hair used to be black. You see in all this big city I am the only person with golden tresses, and a green carnation would not excite more comment.³

¹ Cf. "In the spot where Buddha offered his own body to feed the starved tigress's cubs, his blood forever reddened the soil and the trees and flowers. The modern Albanian still sees the stain of slaughter in streams running red with earth, as to the ancient Greek the river that flowed by Byblos bore down in its summer floods the red blood of Adonis. The Cornishman knows from the red filmy growth on the brook pebbles that murder has been done there; John the Baptist's blood still grows in Germany on his day, and peasants still go out to search for it; the red meal fungus is blood dropped by the flying Huns when they hurt their feet against the high tower-roofs" (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 406).

² *Lusciniola* [appellata est] quod luctuose canere existimatur, *Ling. Lat.* v. 76. For a discussion of the etymology of *lusciniū*, see the article by Fay already cited.

Martin (*op. cit.*, p. 2) calls attention to the fact that the Romans "nearly always felt a tone of sadness in the songs of their favorite birds, where we are inclined to feel joy and ecstasy." The same statement might, of course, be made to include the Greeks. "The note of joy is the prevailing modern concept, save where the ancient tradition is followed" (Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 59).

³ *The Lady of the Decoration*, p. 31.

The account of the way in which the Isabel sparrow hawk got its name contains the germ of a tale of transformation:

The Lady Isabel, having confidence in her husband's prowess, vowed not to change her chemise until that warrior had taken a certain town. He was longer about it than she expected, and she wore the garment until it assumed a peculiar brown tint: hence the term "Isabel color."¹

A primitive community would have said that the hawk's brown breast *was* the chemise. A savage would not have named the redbird cardinal because its color was *like* that of the cardinal's vestments; if the bird and the church official were associated in his mind, the bird would *be* a cardinal transfigured. The red-marked woodpecker of Ovid's story *is* the red-mantled Picus.

Back of all these stories accounting for the color, cries, traits, habits, characteristics, and constitution of animals and things in the natural world, there is manifested one deep and fundamental desire, that of definiteness of information. Man in a primitive stage of society must have a specific explanation for things that attract his attention. His attitude toward nature is somewhat like Livy's toward things ancient: *si quae similia veris sint, pro veris accipiantur, satis habeam* (v. 21. 9).

¹ *The Coues Check List and Ornithological Dictionary*, p. 87.

LITERARY ADAPTATIONS AND REFERENCES IN PETRONIUS

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I

Tacitus (*Ann.* xvi. 19) records for the year 66 A.D. the death of Petronius, who had been raised to eminence by his indolence as others by their industry. But this judgment must be read in the light of the other statement of Tacitus in regard to Agricola: *gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit* (*Agr.* vi. 16). As consul, and as proconsul in Bithynia, he had shown himself equal to the transaction of the affairs of state, and, when enrolled among the favorites of Nero, he won for himself the title *Elegantiae Arbiter*, for Nero considered him as the ultimate authority in matters of taste, and nothing as elegantly luxurious which had not met his approval. His ability is well expressed in the lines of Pope:

Fancy and art in gay Petronius please
The scholar's fancy and the courtier's ease.

—*Essay on Criticism*, ll. 688-89.

To him is assigned a romance, originally in sixteen books, of which two have come down to us in slightly abbreviated form. His object seems to have been, at least in what we have of his work, to show the practices of the court at Rome (*illud erat vivere*, 44, "that was the life"), worked out under provincial conditions. So well has he done this that the Banquet of Trimalchio fits into the conditions under Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero, and the place may be any Grecian city on the seashore of Italy.

There are several statements which indicate that Petronius had in mind the court of Nero. Chief among these are the references to Menecrates (73), to the *Trioae halosis* (89), and to the poetry of Lucan (118). There are also others of almost equal weight. Did not Trimalchio (29), as did Nero, have a gold box into

which he put his shavings (Suet. *Nero* 12)? In accordance with a custom hitherto unheard of (*inaudito more*, 70), he had the feet of his guests anointed, a practice which had been suggested to Nero by Otho (Pliny *N.H.* xiii. 3 [4]. 22). The position of Trimalchio at the banquet: *cui locus novo more primus servabatur* (31), looks as if it were the practice of a princeps like Nero imitated by a provincial parvenu. However this may be, there is certainly a reflection of life under Nero in the words *tandem ergo discubuimus pueris Alexandrinis aquam in manus nivatam infundentibus* (31). Seneca (*N.Q.* iv. 13. 10) has *nivatis potionibus*, and snow was also used by Nero for cooling purposes (Suet. *Nero* 27). Noticeable also is the statement in Suet. *Nero* 20: *Captus autem modulatis Alexandrinorum laudationibus, qui de novo commeatu Neapolim confluxerant, plures Alexandria evocavit*. Petronius clearly presents the type in 68: *Puer Alexandrinus, qui caldam ministrabat, lusciniæ coepit imitari*. Trimalchio proclaims himself a man among men (39), and gives a detailed description of the house he had built, not unlike Nero, who after building the Golden Palace declared that at length he had begun to live as a man (Suet. *Nero* 31). The offending atriensis was relegated to Baiae (53) in accordance with a law of Nero that convicts should be used on his public works: *Quorum operum perficiendorum gratia quod ubique esset custodiae in Italiam deportari, etiam scelere convictos nonnisi ad opus damnari praeceperat* (Suet. *Nero* 31). Attention may also be called to the words of Encolpius: *Ergo me non ruina terra potuit haurire?* (81) possibly suggested by the words of Nero as given in Suet. *Nero* 38. The remarks of Trimalchio on *continere* (47) were certainly later than the proposed edict of Claudius: *quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi, cum periclitatum quendam prae pudore ex continentia repperisset* (Suet. *Claud.* 32). The zeal shown for the Green at the Banquet, in the *ostiarius prasinatus* (28), the commendation *etsi prasinianus es famosus* (70), and the challenge *si prasinus proximis circensibus primam palmam*, suit the times of Nero (Suet. *Nero* 22), although also in harmony with conditions under Caligula (Suet. *Cal.* 55).

Petronius does not name the place where the Banquet was held, but incidentally speaks of it as a Greek city by the sea. It had

commercial relations with Rome (76), as also with Tarentum (38 and 100); compare also *Melissa Tarentina* (61). *Sic notus Ulixes?* says Trimalchio of himself (39), and he certainly was foxy enough not to place within the range of the knowledge of any who were present his story that at Cumae he had seen with his own eyes the Sibyl hanging in a bottle, and when the boys said to her, "Sibyl, what do you want?" she replied, "I want to die." It is a nice story, but is merely a variation of the one told by Livy (v. 22. 5) about Juno and the Roman soldiers at the capture of Veii. The setting of this story at Cumae invalidates any argument that the Banquet was there, or at any place in the vicinity. Some other of Trimalchio's geographical items must be placed among the keenest pieces of satire in the work. He says of his wine: *In suburbano nascitur eo, quod ego non novi. dicitur confine esse Tarraciniensibus et Tarentinis. nunc coniungere agellis Siciliam, ut cum Africam liberit ire, per meos fines navigem* (48). When the actuary read his report *tamquam urbis acta* (53), Trimalchio was angry because he then learned that the Pompeian gardens had been bought the year before. Yet with these almost boundless resources he had still greater hopes: *Si contigerit fundos Apuliae iungere, satis vivus pervenero* (77).

Wherever the city was, the chief actor Encolpius, when the stars were shining (99), set sail on a ship belonging to Lichas of Tarentum, and bound for that place (100). The doings of the night and of a part of the next day are given in detail. A storm comes on, and *Siciliam modo ventus dabat, saepissime [in oram] Italici litoris aquilo possessor convertibat huc illuc obnoxiam ratem*. Darkness comes with the storm (114), because it was thus in the case of Aeneas, and the master of the ship is swept into the sea, as in Verg. *Aen.* i. 115. Encolpius and two companions reach the shore, and spend the night in a fisherman's hut. On the next day the corpse of the master is driven to the shore, and Encolpius bewails him because "Yesterday he set the day on which he was going to arrive at home. O gods and goddesses, how far from his destination does he lie!" Immediately after the burial they pursue their way, and in a moment of time see, not far away, a city placed on a lofty cliff. From a countryman they learn that it is Croton, a very ancient city and once upon a time the foremost of

Italy. Unless we frankly claim that the work, as we have it, does not correctly indicate the length of the voyage, the Greek city by the sea must be placed only part of a day's voyage from Croton. The shipwreck was near Croton, although the mention of Sicily (see above) seems to place it on the western coast of Italy. If incorrectly stated geographical data help portray the workings of the mind of Trimalchio, the nautical data, without due assignment, may perhaps in like manner be modeled after the yarn of some sailor psychically akin to those who swapped lies in the camp of Agricola (Tac. *Agr.* 25).

The reflections which are scattered through the work indicate that the writer was a critic of art, of literature, and of eloquence. In some gallery (83) he saw a work of Zeuxis not yet tarnished by age, and adored pictures by Apelles, the outlines of which were drawn with such subtlety that one might think he was looking at living beings. He bewailed the degeneracy of his own times, when men, accusers of antiquity, learn and teach its vices only (88). Great literary works have ceased, and love of intellect makes no one rich (83), or, as it is expressed in the same section:

Sola pruinosis horret facundia pannis
Atque inopi lingua desertas invocat artes.

Not only this but oratory has degenerated into declamation, "and recently a windy and unregulated loquacity emigrated from Asia to Athens, and, as if it were a pestilential star, blasted the minds of young men rising to great things, and eloquence, once for all corrupted, stood still and was silent" (2). But even amid degeneracy, principles remain unchanged, and they who would be orators "should drink from the Maeonian fount, should shake the arms of the mighty Demosthenes, or hurl the words of the unsubdued Cicero" (5). The statements are akin to some in Longinus *On the Sublime*, and both the positive and the negative phases of his criticism are like those in the *Dialogus de oratoribus*.

It would be interesting if we could determine whether the coloring by Seneca, either in general or in particular scenes, had been purposely changed by Petronius. The former inveighs against luxurious feasts; the latter portrays one complete to satiety.

Trimalchio boasts that he had never heard a philosopher (71), and *oportet etiam inter cenandum philologiam nosse* (39). To Seneca philosophy was the guide of life, but "nowadays teachers are showing us how to dispute and not how to live, and that which was philosophy has become philology" (*Ep.* 108. 23). Seneca mentions, as an example of inexcusable luxury, the immense amounts spent on ear-rings (*Dial.* vii. 17. 2). But he has no remedy, as has Petronius: "What," says Habinnas, "you cleaned me out that I might buy a glass bean for you. If I had a daughter I'd cut off her dear little ears" (67). Seneca gives, as if it were a proverb, *nemo cum sarcinis enatat* (*Ep.* 22. 12), and Petronius illustrates its truth in the case of Tryphaena (114), while *ubique naufragium est* (115) is a summary of Seneca's portrayal of life's shipwreck (*Dial.* xi. 9. 6). Seneca, *Ad Helviam matrem de consolatione* (*Dial.* xii. 19. 6) lauds the sister whom Egypt for sixteen years approved *velut unicum sanctitatis exemplum*. Petronius probably brought with him from the East the story of the Widow of Ephesus, *tam notae erat pudicitiae, ut vicinarum quoque gentium feminas ad spectaculum sui evocaret* (111), and of whom, when her husband died, men said *solum affulsisse verum pudicitiae amorisque exemplum*. But it was only a five-day flash. There is a possibility that what Seneca wrote may have furnished suggestions to Petronius, but each reader must decide for himself in regard to the probability. Similar phrases, as *qui vincitur, vincit* (59), which are not unusual in Seneca, e.g., *Dial.* iv. 34. 5, were probably a part in the current of daily speech; but in others there is the possibility of satiric adaptation by Petronius, as *vita vinum est* (34): Sen. *Dial.* ix. 10. 4: *omnis vita servitium est*; and *gaudimonio dissilio* (61): Sen. *Dial.* i. 4. 10: *cruditate dissiliunt*. There are also other possibilities, and it might be some personal gratification to portray at some Elysian convivium a conversation on Roman morals between Petronius the satirist and Seneca the philosopher. But let us digress to our subject.

II

Petronius invented a provincial Maecenas, and named him Caius Pompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus (71). Of the original and of the imitation it can be truly said that physically and psychically *Utrumque eorum incredibili modo consensit astrum*. How

closely they resembled each other can be seen by comparing *pallio enim coccineo adrasum excluserat caput* (32) and *hunc esse, qui in tribunali, in rostris, in omni publico coetu sic adparuerit, ut pallio velaretur caput exclusis utrimque auribus* (Sen. *Ep.* 114. 6). Their marital relations seem to have been the same, although Petronius could give an account of only one little rift in the domestic felicity of Trimalchio and Fortunata to the thousand mentioned for Maecenas and Terentia. It may be accidental that the names of the wives are syllabled the same. Both men wrote poetry, and the essence of what Seneca says of the work of Maecenas is given by Petronius in one word *distorta* (55). Still, given a word or a suggestion from another poet, Trimalchio was somewhat of a poetical builder, as is shown by the lines in 34:

Eheu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio est.
Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet Orcus.
Ergo vivamus, dum licet esse bene.

In addition to the Maecenatian traits he had some common with other great men. The warning from the boy at the entrance to the triclinium *dextro pede* (30) is an indication of his superstition; see Mayor *ad Juv.* x. 5. His memory was like that of Calvisius: *Huic memoria tam mala erat, ut illi modo nomen Ulixis excideret, modo Achillis, modo Priami* (Sen. *Ep.* 27. 5). His funereal comedy (71-72) reminds one of Turannius (Sen. *Dial.* x. 20. 3), as his business operations do of Demetrius Pompeianus (Sen. *Dial.* ix. 8. 6).

Trimalchio had come as a slave from Asia, and had become versed in both literature and history. Had he not two libraries, one Greek and one Latin? His words show how thoroughly he had mastered both: *Diomedes et Ganymedes duo fratres fuerunt. horum soror erat Helene. Agamemnon illam rapuit et Dianae cervam subiecit. ita nunc Homeros dicit, quemadmodum inter se pugnent Troiani et Tarentini. vicit scilicet et Iphigeniam, filiam suam, Achilli dedit uxorem. ob eam rem Ajax insanit* (59). Similar are his remarks about Cassandra and Niobe (52), and these, with his account of Corinthian pieces, well illustrate the assumed characteristics of his memory: "That you may not think me a nonsense, I know mighty well where Corinthian pieces first came from.

When Ilium was taken, Hannibal, a knavish man and mighty rascal, piled all the statues, copper and gold, and silver, into one pile and set them on fire, and they were all made into miscellaneous bronzes" (50). He then tells the story of a smith who made a glass vessel, and in the presence of Caesar dropped it on the floor. It was merely dented, as if it had been of copper. When Caesar learned that the maker alone knew the composition of it, he ordered him to be beheaded, *quia enim, si scitum esset, aurum pro luto haberemus*. Pliny *N.H.* xxxvi. 66. (26) 195 records a somewhat similar incident under the Emperor Tiberius. Trimalchio does not tell exactly the same story, but he would not have been Trimalchio if he had. Another satiric touch to be placed with these is *Falernum Optimianum annorum centum* (34). This merely indicates the belief of Trimalchio that the wine could be had of any age, either one or a hundred years old.

The Banquet of Trimalchio is noticeable for its expressional features. There were recited the poems of great writers, as well as those of Trimalchio himself (41). According to Horace *Ep.* ii. 1. 146: *opprobria rustica* were a part of the program of early gatherings, and at the Banquet these were poured forth in abundance. A few will suffice for illustration: *Tu lacticulosus, nec mu nec ma argutas, vasus fictilis, immo lorus in aqua, lentior non melior* (57), "you little suckling, you babble neither boo nor baa, you mud-jug, no, a lash in water, limberer, not better"; *caepa cirrata*, "frizzled onion"; *mus, immo terrae tuber* (58), "rat, no, toad-stool," Fitting accompaniments of this talk are the charades and conundrums by which one might win renown for wisdom. But where shall we place *bucca, bucca, quot sunt hic?* (64) which the boy on his master's back shouted as he struck him with his open hand? All this is subartistic, although potential material for literary satire. There are also a number of proverbs, some of which had worked their way into literature, as *manus manum lavat* (45), and *plane qualis dominus, talis et servus* (58). Here and there is a touch akin to comedy, as *Nam isti maiores maxillae semper Saturnalia agunt* (44), which does not differ much from the words of the parasite in Plaut. *Capt.* 468: *Ita ventur gutturque resident esurialis ferias*, "so are their guts and gullets getting eating-holidays."

In this presentation by Petronius of the words and the ways at the Banquet is shown some of the skill which won for him the title *Elegantiae Arbiter* at the Imperial court. He was a master of the pleasures of his time, intellectual and physical, high and low. He spent his last hours listening to men repeating, nothing about the immortality of the soul, or the maxims of wise men, but light songs and ready verses. He was a producer as well as a reproducer, though a dividing line between the two cannot be rigidly drawn. However, the literary material in his work can be classified in a general way as (a) original and (b) adapted.

a) *Original material*.—After mentioning Cicero and Publilius, he asks the question: *Quid enim his melius dici potest* (55)? There follow sixteen lines whose substance is about as follows:

In the jaws of luxury the walls of Mars are crumbling. For your palate is fed the cooped-up peacock, 'clad in its golden Babylonian plumage.' For you the Numidian hen; for you the caponed cock; also the stork, a friendly guest from foreign lands, a mother-dutiful, slender-footed, graceful-dancing bird, winter's exile, harbinger of spring, has just now made its nest in the stewing-kettle of prodigality. Why the necklace dear to you, the Indian pearl? Is it that the matron decked with trappings from the sea, may parade, untamed, in imported coverings? For what the green emerald, the costly glass? Why do you wish the fiery Carthaginian stones? (for aught) excepting that probity may flash from carbuncles. Is it proper that a bride put on the woven wind, to stand forth openly exposed in a linen cloud?

Whether these are the lines of Publilius, as they are given by Ribbeck, *Scen. Roman. Poesis. Frag.* ii. 369 (3d ed.), or are the work of Petronius himself, there is equal judgment either in the selection or in the production. But whoever may have been the creator, the marked vigor of the lines, the skill in the choice and application, perhaps also in the coining of words, as *pietaticultrix gracilipes crotalistria*, mark the writer as a poet of no little merit, and show for Petronius fine creative or appreciate power.

Trimalchio is represented as coming from Asia, entering Rome, *Minerva ducente* (29), mastering a large part of Italy, and having painted on the walls of his house some scenes from his own career. In writing these portions Petronius brought down to satire some epic touches, for Vergil represents Aeneas as leaving Troy *ducente deo* (*Aen.* ii. 632), and finding portrayed on the walls of the temple

at Carthage some events in which he himself had taken part. This suggested to Petronius the putting into his work of the *Troiae halosis* which he may have seen at Rome. A description of the picture is given in sixty-five lines (88). Bearing in mind that he is writing of the picture and not of the destruction of Troy, we can understand the limitations under which he placed himself.

Compared with the Aeneid, this poem is static rather than kinetic, for things do not come into being, but are. There stands the horse, but there is no Laocoön running down from the citadel, no spear vibrating in the side of the beast. The serpents are on the sea, and then they are where stand the two sons of Laocoön. The full moon has already lifted its beaming light when the Greeks pour forth upon the sons of Priam buried in night and wine. The contrast is especially noticeable in the account of the serpents. Vergil (*Aen.* ii. 203-27) gives their entire course from Tenedos, till they lie concealed under the feet of the goddess. Petronius suggests their motion by mentioning a sound such as that of oars on a silent night borne from afar when ships press on the sea, and the surface re-echoes, beaten by the on-borne pine. "We gaze upon the scene. Serpents with their double coils sweep the floods against the rocks, their swollen breasts like lofty ships drive the foam from their sides." The use of similes to bring to the imagination of the reader the movements which the picture could not portray shows how closely the poet stuck to his theme—the description of the picture itself.

The piece of sculpture known as the Laocoön was produced not far from the time of Petronius, and it is possible that the words of Vergil may have furnished a suggestion nearly at the same time to a painter as well as to a sculptor. However this may be, a number of verbal resemblances show that Petronius, when he wrote, had in mind the words of Vergil. It has been suggested that the lines are a parody on the *Troica* of Nero. It may be, as Suetonius says (*Nero* 38), that Nero recited the *Halosis* of Troy while Rome was burning, or it may have been merely a rumor (*Tac. Ann.* xv. 39), yet there is nothing in the poem of Petronius in any way indicating that it parodies a poem fit to be recited at such a time, for all that is given precedes the burning. We take the lines for what they profess to

be, the description of a picture, and doing for it what Lessing, centuries later, did for the Laocoön, showing the extent to which the static marble failed to reproduce the kinetic elements in Vergil's portrayal.

On the road to Croton the travelers took up the discussion of literature, and Eumolpius said that young men exercised in forensic pleading betook themselves to the tranquillity of poesy, believing that a poem can be more easily constructed than a controversy with its vibrating aphorisms. But the mind is not able to bring forth offspring unless inundated with a mighty flood of literature. One must avoid all cheapness, so to speak, of words, which must be far removed from the plebs, so as to carry out *odi profanum vulgus et arceo* (118). "Whosoever shall have undertaken the mighty task of the civil war, unless filled with literature, will stagger under the burden. For historical actions ought not to be hampered by verse (historians do the task far better), but through circumlocutions and ministrations of the gods and the storied impulse of maxims, so that it may seem the prophesying of an inspired spirit rather than the trustworthiness of a scrupulous speech under witnesses."

There follow 295 lines, the first part of which (1-61) has none of the characteristics which are named for a successful poem. It is rather a pamphlet on personal and political corruption, and lines 33-37 are used in slightly different form in section 93 also. Well-known joys no longer please, nor pleasures worn by plebeian use. The tiger is imported that it may drink the blood of men while the populace is applauding. From the Sicilian shore the scar is brought alive to the table, and the wave of the Phasis is bereft of its birds. *Ingeniosa gula est* (l. 33), as in Martial xiii. 62. 2.

Political conditions are as bad:

Nec minor in campo furor est, emptique Quirites
Ad praedam strepitumque lucri suffragia vertunt,
Venalis populus, venalis curia patrum,
Est favor in pretio.

Amid all this, Cato alone stands unshaken, and with him sinks Roman power and glory (l. 48). It is war alone that can win back the weal lost by luxury. As this is near the end of the work, it may be taken as an application to the days of Caesar of the con-

ditions of his own, as he passed them in final review, and the same picture might have been drawn either by Seneca or Juvenal.

Lines 61-66 look back to Crassus and ahead to the death of Caesar. Fortune brought forth three leaders whom Enyo overwhelmed. Parthia has Crassus, Pompey lies on the Libyan shore, Julius drenched ungrateful Rome with blood, and, as if the earth could not bear so many tombs, it separated their ashes. Such honors did glory give.

In lines 67-265, as if anticipating the truth of the statement in later times *Bellum est Hellum*, he shows us all the kindred of Mars from Bellona to Tisiphone. Father Dis in a score of lines calls on Fortune to arouse to slaughter, and her reply is nearly as long. Fama fulfills her task, and arms, blood, slaughter, fires, and war flit before the eyes of men (l. 215). Peace, faith, concord, flee from the earth, a throng comes trooping from the lower world, and whatever Discord has ordered is done upon the earth (l. 295).

b) The position of Petronius at the court of Nero was a recognition of his power to utilize or adapt the work of his predecessors, or to draw suggestions from it. The satire furnishes abundant evidence of the latter, in his presentation of provincial conditions. *Plus gratiae orbitas confert quam eripit*, says Seneca (*Dial.* vi. 19. 2), but in ideal Germany *nec ulla orbitatis pretia* (Tac. *Germ.* 20). Petronius seized on this feature, an occasional one at Rome, and shows how men *aut captantur aut captant* at Croton *oppidum tamquam in pestilentia campos, in quibus nihil aliud est nisi cadavera, quae lacerantur, aut corvi, qui lacerant* (116). He recognized the keenness of Caligula's characterization of Livia Augusta *Ulixes stolatus* (Suet. *Cal.* 23), and Fortunata became a *Cassandra caligaria* (74). The suicide fiasco (108) has a prototype in the action of Germanicus (Tac. *Ann.* i. 35). Here also each must judge for himself the extent to which Petronius consciously used these incidents and the literary material of others. The larger part of the latter is poetical, though a few points may have been derived from Livy. In xxxi. 14. 7 we read of a Grecian war that had been brought on because some young men had *imprudenter* entered a temple at Athens. The amatory war in Petronius had a similar beginning, *imprudenter enim, admisistis inexpiabile scelus* (17). There may

be no connection between these passages, nor between *ubi laxatas sensit custodias* (Livy xxi. 32. 12) and *ut viderunt laxatum custodiam* (112). But surely Petronius knew the story of Quinctius recorded by Livy (xxxv. 49. 6-7) about the banquet of his Chalcidian host *hominis boni et sciti convivatoris*, who, when the guests were wondering at the varieties of meat served, *renidens condimentis ait varietatem illam et speciem ferinae carnis ex mansueto sue factam*. The Daedulus of Trimalchio has equal skill: *Ista cocus meus de porco fecit . . . volueris, de vulva faciet pisces, de lardo palumbum, de perna turturem, de colaepio gallinam* (70), although by this time perhaps all cooks had reached the same high eminence.

The poetical adaptations are much more numerous, and may be a word, a phrase, or a metrical group, either changed or unchanged from the original. Catullus has in v. 1:

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,

while Trimalchio gives in 34:

Ergo vivamus, dum licet esse bene.

The use of *vivamus* only of the line of Catullus is one of the keenest satiric touches in Petronius, as is *Odes* ii. 12. 21 ff. in Horace; see Seneca *Ep.* 114. 6: *Hunc esse, qui uxorem miliens duxit, cum unam habuerit*. We can understand the restraint of Trimalchio if we read his endearing epithets to his wife: *fulcipedia . . . milva . . . amasiuncula . . . sterteia* (75) and *vipera* (77), when she had done nothing more than call him *canis* (74). The words *mihi pontus inertes* | *submittit fluctus* (134. 4) are certainly a conscious adaptation of Lucretius *De rerum natura* i. 7: *tibi suavis daedala tellus* | *submittit flores*, the partial equivalence in the spelling of the last word in each, and the parallel arrangement of the words in the lines being especially noticeable. Compare also for a similar change and setting (82): *Non bibit inter aquas poma aut pendentia carpit* | *Tantalus*, and Ovid *Am.* ii. 2. 43: *Quaerit aquas in aquis et poma fugacia captat* | *Tantalus*. For another setting see Hor. *Sat.* i. 1. 68: *Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat* | *flumina*. The ending of line 35 of this same poem of Ovid, *iurgia neclat*, appears as *iurgia neclit* in Petronius 18. Equally serviceable for the meter is Verg. *Copa* 21: *lentis uva racemis*, which is changed to *passis uva racemis* in 135. 14. These are enough to illustrate the forms of the

membra disiecta with which the satire abounds. It might be expected that Ovid, Propertius, and Tibullus would furnish much material, but the days of love intrigues and of lovelorn youths had passed, and immorality needed no subterfuge. *Amica vincit | uxorem. Rosa cinnamum veretur*, says Petronius (93. 8), and he found his poetical delicacies in Vergil and more especially in Horace.

At the Banquet a slave, acting under orders, suddenly began to recite:

Interea medium Aeneas classe tenebat.

Nullus sonus unquam acidior percussit aures meas. nam praefer errantis barbariae aut adiectum aut deminutum clamorem miscebat Atellanicos versus, ut tunc primum me etiam Vergilius offenderit.

Juvenal has in *Sat. xi.* 182:

Quid referet, tales versus quo voce legantur?

and this is a sufficient commentary on the delivery. However, the statement is of interest as indicating that by this time slaves were being trained to recite Vergil. Tryphaena has an adaptation of *Aen. ii.* 594 in 108:

Quis furor, exclamat, pacem convertit in arma?

But of much more importance is the story about the Widow of Ephesus (111-12), whose maid repeated to her some lines spoken by Anna to the Queen of Carthage (*Aen. iv.* 34 and 38):

Id cinerem aut manes credis sentire sepultos?
placitone etiam pugnabis amori?
nec venit in mentem, quorum consederis arvis?

Eumolpius repeats the story as of a thing done within his recollection (110), and elsewhere (88), speaks in the pluperfect subjunctive of his residence at Pergamum. We know nothing of his wanderings, so that little light is thrown on the question, how long after the time of Vergil did his verses become a part of the intellectual equipment of maids in Ephesus and errant damsels in Italy?

There are a few interesting instances of adaptation. Vergil (*Aen. vi.* 469) has the following of the interview between Aeneas and Dido:

Illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat,
Nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur,
Quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.

Petronius with an eye to the satiric effect has *haec ut iratus effudi* (132), with the first two of Vergil's lines, but changing the third to

Quam lentae salices lassove papavera collo,

the first part being common enough, the latter part from Verg. *Aen.* ix. 432. The travellers talked over the ways of escaping from the ship of Lichas (102), one suggesting *per funem lapsi descendimus*, just as did the Greeks from the Trojan horse, *demissum lapsi per unem* (Verg. *Aen.* ii. 262). The words of Giton: *satis magnum, erit misero solacium, sua voluntate cecidisse* (91) give the thought in Verg. *Aen.* iii. 306:

Si pereo, hominum manibus perisse iuvabit.

The words *genua amplexus* in the next line, combined with *ne vertere . . . vellet* (ii. 652) make up *genua ego perseverantis amplector, ne morientes vellet occidere* (98).

From a literary standpoint the most important of the words of Petronius are *Horatii curiosa felicitas* (118). A dozen examples will be enough to show the method of using the material, most of which occurs in prose passages with little or no verbal agreement, as only the general sentiment is reproduced. Though the phrasing is entirely different, the appearance of Priapus *secundum quietem* (104) recalls the appearance of Quirinus to Horace *post mediam noctem* (*Sat.* i. 10. 31). Similar to this pair, and with a little closer verbal resemblance, is *quod quisque perperam didicit, in senectute confiteri non vult* (4), suggested by the words *et quae | imberbi didicere senes, perdenda fateri* (*Ep.* ii. 1. 85). *Et sane iam lucernae mihi plures videbantur ardere* (64) may record an actual experience without reference to *Ut semel icto | accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis* (*Sat.* ii. 1. 25). Compare Juvenal vi. 305:

Ambulat et geminis exsurgit mensa lucernis.

Ne me Crispini scrinia lippi | compilasse putes, verbum non amplius addam (*Sat.* i. 1. 120) is so unusual that it must have suggested: *Ne me putes improbasse schedium Lucilianae humilitatis, quod sentio, et ipse carmine effingam* (4). The conclusion is, in one case positive, in the other negative, yet the use of *putes* in both, and the balancing of *scrinia . . . compilasse* by *improbasse schedium* is the sure sign of adaptation. There is not infrequently, as in this statement,

the same theme with a word or two as a tag to indicate the source. The following are illustrations: *In aurem aliquid secreto diceret* (28): *in aurem | dicere nescio quid puero* (Sat. i. 1. 9); *nummos modio metitur* (37): *dives | ut metiretur nummos* (Sat. i. 6. 95); *quis enim potest probare diversa?* (84): *laudet diversa sequentis* (Sat. i. 1. 3 and 109); *dum loqueris, levis pruina dilabitur* (99); *dum loquimur, fugerit invida aetas* (Odes i. 11. 7). With the last compare *sic vita truditur* (45) and *truditur dies die* (Odes ii. 18. 15). *Fundos mendaces* (117) differs in number only from the words in Odes iii. 11. 30, while the description of Trimalchio *nil autem tam inaequale erat* (52) is a variation of what Horace has about Tigellius in Sat. i. 3. 9: *nil aequale homini fuit illi*.

Metrical necessities determined the form of the adaptations in the poetical portions and the extent of the variation from the form in Horace. The command: *quare da nobis vina Falerna, puer* (55.3) comes from the question in Odes ii. 11. 20: *quis puer ocius | restinguet ardentis Falerni | pocula?* The description of the cottage (135) has the same keynote: *Non Indum fulgebat ebur*, as has Odes ii. 18: *Non ebur*. Closeness in verbal adaptation is well illustrated by *feriemus sidera verbis* (Fr. 32. 7), which differs from *feriam sidera vertice* (Odes i. 1. 36) little more than *verbis* differs from *vertice*, and this almost disappears in the English pronunciation of the Latin. As a still better illustration we give *ludebat aquis errantibus amnis* (131. 4) and *fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus*, (Ep. ii. 27). The perfect succession of liquids in *lymphis . . . manantibus*, with the ripple caused by the *ph* is not quite attained by Petronius with *aquis errantibus*, in which the successive initial vowels *a* and *e* take the place of the initial consonants *l* and *m*. This seems to be the most successful attempt on the part of Petronius to reproduce, although with a slightly different effect, the *curiosa felicitas* of Horace.

Considering only the larger phases of the subject, we find that Petronius is concerned chiefly with Lucan, Vergil, and Horace. In this he anticipated later conditions as set forth in the *Dialogus de oratoribus* 20: "There is demanded nowadays from the orator poetical charm, not foul with the moss of Accius and Pacuvius, but brought forth from the shrine of Horace and Vergil and Lucan."

ARCHAEOLOGY IN 1918

BY GEORGE H. CHASE
Harvard University

That I am able to make a report on archaeological work in Greece during 1918 is due almost entirely to Mr. W. B. Dinsmoor, who has allowed me to make excerpts from an account of recent events in Greece which he prepared for the annual meeting of the Boston Society of the Archaeological Institute. Thanks to his generosity, I am able not only to present a summary of what was done in 1918, but also to supplement my earlier reports in several respects.

Though Greece, to quote Mr. Dinsmoor, "was filled with former members of the foreign schools" during 1918, almost all these men were enrolled in the army or the navy of their respective countries or were otherwise engaged in war activities, which left no time for archaeology. Of the officers of the American School, Mr. Hill and Mr. Blegen devoted themselves to work for the United States government during all the earlier part of the year; and when the Red Cross mission to Greece reached Athens in October and took over the school building as a residence for its leaders, they were enrolled among the Red Cross officials and sent to Macedonia and elsewhere on various missions. In the early spring Mr. Dinsmoor himself undertook a small excavation in the southwest wing of the Propylaea and uncovered three more steps of the pre-Persian Propylon. But shortly after this his archaeological activities were ended by a commission as lieutenant in the military forces of the United States.

The members of the French School continued to serve as interpreter-officers in the Army of the East, engaged in teaching French or in work for the French military mission. The British School was without members; Mr. Wace, the director, was attached to the British legation, and the Hostel (the residence built for students) was occupied by members of the legation or of military

missions. The German, the Austrian, and the Italian schools were closed.

One interesting event of the year was the removal of the scaffolding from the Propylaea, so that the results of the reconstruction of the central structure, which has been in progress since 1908, can now be seen. It is expected that a similar reconstruction of the southwest wing will soon be begun.

Among the undertakings of the German School before its career was cut short by the intervention of the Entente Allies was an attempt to clear the large area outside the Dipylon gate, between the main road to the Academy and the Sacred Way. Excavations were carried on here under the direction of Mr. Knackfuss, the second secretary of the School, from January to April and from June to November, 1916. The retaining wall of a large tumulus about 75 feet in diameter and traces of a gate of the Themistoclean period below the present Dipylon Gate were discovered, and the upper layers of soil were removed over a large part of the area, before the work was stopped by the deportation of Mr. Knackfuss.

At Tiryns, also, in September, 1916, Dr. Karo explored the region where the Mycenaean treasure was recovered in December, 1915,¹ and ascertained that the treasure was buried during the geometric period, after the Mycenaean houses on the site were in ruins. He also established the fact that the older Mycenaean town was situated to the south of the citadel, though houses of late Mycenaean date were found to the north and to the east of the hill.

In Macedonia, Mr. Hebrard, who was in charge of the archaeological section of the French Army of the East, undertook a careful study of the late Roman and early medieval buildings in Salonica, which led to interesting results. The arch of Gallienus is shown to have been, not a "triumphal" arch of the usual sort, but the west face of a larger structure spanning a crossroads. The spring of the groin vault of the interior is still preserved. The plan of the larger structure thus recovered is exactly on axis with the south door and the transverse axis of the church of St. George. But the south door of the church was originally the principal door, with

¹ Cf. *Classical Journal*, XIII, 186 f.

staircase towers on either side; the present door at the west and the apse on the east are cut through what were originally lateral niches. All this suggests that the arch and the church were built in relation to each other and that the church was originally a Roman building. Further proofs of this are that under the floor are remains of a Roman pavement of marble; that Roman lunette windows exist in the dome, with earlier mosaics under those of Christian date; and that the dome externally once resembled that of the Pantheon at Rome.

Among discoveries for which the war may be accounted directly responsible is that of a small temple on the island of Skyros. The site was found by Michael Deffner, the librarian of King Constantine, who with seventy-five other "enemy aliens" was interned on Skyros toward the end of 1917. Deffner found on a hilltop cuttings for walls and a fragment of marble with the letters ΘΕΣ and ΑΝ in the style of about 475 B.C. He at once assumed that these were remains of a temple dedicated to Theseus and built by Cimon on the spot where he found the bones of the great Attic hero. Excavations undertaken by the Greek government showed that the building was a Doric temple, peripteral and hexastyle, measuring some 58 by 79 feet, but shattered Deffner's theory by bringing to light a vase fragment with a dedication to Apollo.

At Delos, Mr. Replat, the architect of the French School, worked during the summer of 1918 on a general plan of the excavations. He is reported to have traced completely the wall improvised to defend the town and the sanctuary by the Roman legate Triarius after the attack made by the pirate Athenodorus in 69 B.C., and to have discovered the site of the Delian hippodrome, with remains of a surrounding wall and seats. This building is of considerable interest, since only one other Greek hippodrome showing architectural remains is known, the hippodrome on Mount Lycaeus in Arcadia.

In Rome the most discussed event of the year was the discovery of a mutilated female figure which was interpreted as a Victory and hailed as an omen of ultimate success for the arms of the Allies. The statue was found early in February, 1918, in the course of excavations conducted by Commendatore Boni on the Palatine,

not far from the Arch of Titus. Only the torso from the neck to the knees, measuring some 85 centimeters in all, was discovered, but the fragment is very well preserved. It comes from a figure in rapid motion, with flying drapery worked out in spirited, deeply cut folds. Both pose and treatment recall the so-called Nereids from Xanthus, the Iris of the east pediment of the Parthenon, and the Nike from the west pediment, so that the figure has been very generally regarded as a Greek original of the fifth century. Though it has been commonly called Victory, the name rests on little except the pronunciamiento of Signor Boni. There are no traces of wings, and the similarity to the Nike of the Parthenon does not furnish a strong argument, in view of the analogies to the Iris and the "Nereids." The ruins in which the statue was found have also been the subject of much interesting speculation. The ruins are those of a medieval tower. But this rested on an ancient foundation, apparently the basis of a temple, and it was in a crack in this basis that the Victory came to light, along with blocks of *selce*, which had been used to repair the ancient foundation before the tower was built. The tower has been plausibly identified by Monseigneur Duchesne, Director of the French School in Rome, as a dungeon connected with the fortress of the Frangipani, which, as is well known, occupied this section of Rome during the Middle Ages. As for the ancient foundations, Boni has suggested that they are those of the Aedes Victoriae, which archaeologists have generally located on the opposite side of the Palatine Hill. This suggestion, like the identification of the statue as a Victory, will hardly be accepted without further and better evidence, but in any case the torso itself is an important addition to our original Greek works of the fifth century.

Just south of the spot where the Victory was found, on the line of the Clivus Sacer, which led from the Arch of Titus to the Palatine, the same excavation brought to light foundations of Flavian date. These, Boni argues, are to be assigned to one of the triumphal arches erected by Domitian to commemorate his victories over the Germans in 83 and 84 A.D.

Among chance discoveries in Rome, the most interesting are the remains of a series of *horrea*, or storehouses, discovered at the

Marmorata in removing earth for the construction of a new bridge, the Ponte Aventino; and a small collection of statues, brought to light under the courtyard of a house in the Via degli Avignonesi. The collection includes a nude male torso, the torso of a draped male figure, a herm with the head of a young man, a head of Athena, a bearded head, and other pieces, and is thought to have been deposited here in antiquity by a Roman collector.

The underground basilica near the Porta Maggiore, which I mentioned in last year's report, has now been described in some detail by Professor Gatti and Professor Fornari in the first number of the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1918, and has already been the subject of much discussion. It appears that the building was constructed by pouring concrete into pits sunk in the earth and then, after the concrete had hardened, excavating the earth itself. From the character of the concrete, which contains no fragments of tiles, and from that of the *opus reticulatum* used in a shaft above a skylight, it is argued that the building must have been built early in the first century after Christ, not in the second century. Another argument in favor of this date has been advanced by Professor Cumont, who points out that the decoration is entirely Greek in spirit, showing no motives derived from oriental cults or from astrology.¹ Cumont argues that the building was used by a neo-Pythagorean assembly; and Fornari proposes an interesting theory in regard to the ownership of the building. He calls attention to the fact that not far from the site of the basilica there was discovered many years ago a large tomb for the slaves and the freedmen of the *gens Statilia*. This suggests that the land on which the basilica was built belonged to the Statilian family. Moreover, among the objects found in the earlier explorations was the well-known marble urn decorated with a scene from the Eleusinian mysteries.² Now Tacitus in the *Annals* (xii. 59) records that in 53 A.D. a certain Statilius Taurus, who was famous for his wealth, on his return to Rome after serving as proconsul in

¹ Cf. *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1918, 272-75.

² Cf. Contessa E. Lovatelli, in *Buletino Comunale*, VII (1879), 5-18, pls. 1-3; G. E. Rizzo, *Römische Mitteilungen*, XXV (1910), 106, 131 ff., pl. 7.

Africa, was accused by his legatus, Tarquitiu Priscu, "of some extortion, but especially of the practice of magic" (*pauca repetundarum crimina, ceterum magicas superstitiones*). The charge was instigated by Agrippina, who coveted the gardens of Statiliu. Before sentence was pronounced the unfortunate owner of the gardens took his own life. In the underground basilica, therefore, Fornari argues, we have the very building in which the Statilii, their friends, and their freedmen practiced the magic rites which were made the basis of the charges reported by Tacitu.

From other parts of Italy I have few discoveries to record. At Ostia, owing largely to the absence of Dr. Calza on military service, not much was done except to complete the clearing of the market-place discovered in 1917. At Veii further excavations added numerous fragments of architectural terra cottas and some fragments of figures in the same material to those already found. Of the progress made at Pompeii I have seen no reports.

From a summary of the second official report to the Italian Ministry of the Colonies, I gather that work in Cyrenaica and in Tripoli has gone steadily forward. Much of the report is devoted to the sculptures now collected in the museum at Benghazi, and the list is certainly impressive. It includes a colossal Zeus, signed by Xenion, son of Xenion, dating, apparently, from the reign of Hadrian; a colossal Hermes of Polyclitan style; a seated Hermes; two Satyrs, one of Praxitelean type; two groups representing the Graces; an Eros of Lysippic style; and a fine portrait statue of Alexander the Great. The report once more emphasizes the wealth of Cyrene, from which most of these works were recovered, and increases our regret that the American exploration of that site came to such a tragic end. Among discoveries vaguely reported in the *London Times* as "made in Cyrenaica," I have noted a new temple containing a colossal statue of Demeter with long inscriptions of the third century B.C., a statue of a winged Victory, and a second-century portrait of a Roman matron.

WHY STUDY LATIN ?¹

BY G. E. VAN LOON
High School, Highland Park, Michigan

The past twenty-five years have wrought marvels in the world of material things. In a period of so rapid development there has naturally been a reaction upon thought, and inevitably much that is good has been attacked as if out of date, along with much that reflects anachronism. Hence in recent years lovers of Latin have had to endure many a bitter assault from educational faddists, business men, and devotees of science, from those devoted to the new subjects, and brilliant publicists, as well as from men of the street.

Desiring to have some unhackneyed data to present today, I wrote to the Latin teachers of some of the larger schools in Michigan requesting them to ask at least fifty of their pupils why they were studying Latin. I requested them to exclude from their statements such reasons as the desire of parents, school credit, and college credit. Of the many replies, 276 said that Latin helped the writers in their English; 208, that it helped them with the other languages; 103, that it was a help in training the mind; 93, that it would help them in their professional work; and 64 declared that they were studying Latin because it was interesting. There were also 56 who assigned help in other studies as their reason for studying Latin.

The other reasons given may be ignored. The information thus briefly conveyed by the statistics is suggestive and probably typical. Apparently the chief value of Latin, in the view of students generally, is the help it affords in the comprehension of English.

I wrote also to several colleges and universities asking if the percentage of Latin students had decreased in the last ten years, and why. A few replies may be briefly summarized here. At the University of Wisconsin there has been a decrease of from 50 per cent to 60 per cent "due to vocationalism, promiscuous attendance, and relaxation of intellectual ideals." At Cornell there has

¹ Read at the Classical Conference at Ann Arbor, Michigan, April 2, 1919.

been no great decrease. At Princeton, the home of classic ideals and tradition, there has been slight change; about 90 per cent of the students in the Freshman year have been taking Latin, and the percentage has been consistent through the ten years.

At Dartmouth there has been a decrease of 20 per cent; "Latin is too difficult for most students of the present generation. Teaching methods advocated by superintendents and others are not producing good results." From the University of Texas comes a plaint against the iconoclasm of commercialism; in ten years there has been a decrease of 20 per cent. A similar decrease is reported by Yale.

I sent letters to a number of successful doctors and lawyers asking them if the study of Latin had proved to be worth while. All said "Yes," but one declared that Latin had been "crammed down the throats" of pupils without any regard to their capabilities.

I wrote, finally, to a number of men of the class of 1893 at the University of Michigan. These were not engaged in professional work, and so their replies are of especial interest. Four of these letters, slightly reduced in length, are printed here.

Letter I. From an Advertising Agent:

[The writer had only a limited amount of Latin, perhaps two years in all, and rather regrets that he had so little, as, aside from the possible mental training, the knowledge of the language as a source for the derivation of English words has always stood him in good stead and has frequently been of special service to him as a newspaper writer and reader—not to mention the enlarging of his vocabulary when he was a student.]

I am not strong for any other of the dead languages but I would say that Latin, because of its relation not only to many English words but likewise to French and Spanish, is worth studying for a limited period. The help of Latin to me, however, may be said to have been more because of the literary value, something possibly not appealing to every student; still, as with mathematics, the mental training is worth while to anybody.

Letter II. From a Chicago Journalist:

Replying to your favor of February 18th, I beg to say that I studied Latin for about two years in preparatory schools. Then I had Latin courses running in all approximately three years at Michigan University. While I realize now that I got far less out of it than I should have got—and through no fault of the teachers at the University—I'm convinced that what I did learn was invaluable to me, principally as a means of getting at the real significance of words in our language. I suppose this would be set down as the "philological" value of the study.

I may add that through the fault of my own lack of application the Latin as a *literature* never became to me the living thing it should have been. Translation and construction were always difficult, awkward and crude, and left me without an appreciation of the graces and beauties of the language. In spite of that, the insight I obtained into the origin and significance of words has been of great use in all my work.

Letter III. From the President of a Wholesale Millinery House:

I feel that the study of Latin is worth while because it trains one to think and study effectively. Also it enables one to understand the real meaning and force of English words, knowing what the Latin word it was derived from originally meant. The study of Latin also enables us to at times almost read the Latin languages of today—so many words are similar—without having devoted any special study to them. Certainly it would make the study of those languages today very much easier.

I know it would be impossible to concentrate on any one study as far as high school students are concerned, but my experience during the time of my education leads me to think that if a pupil devoted more time to any one study he would get along better—as for instance in my case. I was probably the worst Latin pupil that ever attended the Detroit High School. I stuck to the ninth grade for two years in Latin after my fellows had passed me by a year. That was probably largely my fault because I did not study or know how to study. After all my classmates had gone to College two years ahead of me, I turned in and devoted three or four months to the study of Latin without any assistance, and when I got through I knew as much of the technicalities of the language as probably any student that ever went out of the high school. The same thing with the mathematics in high school. I think it took me about three weeks to clean up two years, devoting all my time to it and nothing else. I remember I went about with a text book in my hand, whether on a Sunday School picnic or at the theatre.

The brief period of a few minutes a day that a pupil devotes to each one of the five or six studies in the high school as a rule does not seem to fasten attention or arouse interest in a study. Of course there are exceptions, but there are lots of students going along the same way I did who, if their minds could be directed in one channel for a while, would acquire an interest and understanding in some one course.

Letter IV. From a Life Insurance Agent:

I studied Latin for the usual course in high school and for two years in college, probably five years at least in all.

Yes, I feel that it was worth while, but am not sure that the time might not have been better spent otherwise, if proper teachers and equipment had been available.

Latin can be tolerably well taught with poorer instructors, and less equipment, than can most content subjects. Many schools could not provide suitable instruction for such subjects, and yet can do fairly good work in Latin.

In 1870 the German government asked the University of Berlin to consider the admission of graduates of the *Realschule* to the university on equal terms with those of the *Gymnasium*, whose training is based largely on the classics, indicating in this request that the *Realschule* afforded an equivalent preparation for advanced study. The philosophical faculty replied that the non-classical training is incapable of furnishing a preparation for academic studies equal to that afforded by classical training; that all efforts to find a substitute for the classical languages, whether in mathematics or in the modern languages or in the natural sciences, have hitherto been unsuccessful; that after long and vain search we must come back finally to the result of centuries of experience; that the surest instrument that can be used in the training of the minds of the youth is given to us in the languages, the literature, and the works of art of classical antiquity.

In spite of this, the government opened up the universities to the graduates of these technical high schools. After ten years of experimenting, the entire faculty, professors of natural and physical sciences included, declared that in spite of the start gained in scientific study by the graduates of the technical schools, they were speedily overtaken by the graduates of the classical institutions and left in the rear. The entire faculty petitioned the government to repeal its decree and to admit to the university only such students as had received the training of the classics as the only adequate training for university study. On this petition were the names of Liebig, Helmholtz, Hoffmann, Rammelsberg, Mommsen, Curtius, and others of equal fame.

When Johnny in his reading comes across the word "prediction" and is able to tell its origin and probably its meaning, even though partly from context, there is joy in his heart; and when I meet the word "ancillary" for the first time I have a bit of his pleasure, as one does who hears a new bird or finds a new flower. True, this experience probably never has nor ever will have a cash value, yet I am better for it, and life is more worth living. He who becomes better acquainted with his own language through his knowledge of Latin learns to discriminate in his word-judgments, becomes familiar with the niceties of speech, and has a possession worth more than houses and lots.

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

VERGILIUS IURISCONSULTUS

"The law is the true embodiment
Of everything that's excellent,"

says the Lord Chancellor in *Iolanthe*. If that be so, it follows that the law must contain a great deal of Latin, and as a matter of fact we know that it does, both in substance and in form.

One of the forms in which Latin is embodied in the law is in the form of maxims. Some of them, such as *caveat emptor* and *de minimis non curat lex*, have had a history of their own and are not unknown to many who have never taken upon themselves the kindly yoke of the law. The important thing to remember is that these maxims are in no sense wise saws, cited for their illustrative value, and introduced with an apologetic *ut aiunt*, as they might be used in Bacon's *Essays*, or by Sir Thomas Browne. They are in the fullest sense legal principles. They are rules to be applied and followed in the decisions of concrete cases, as fully as legislative enactments or the judgments of authoritative tribunals. If nothing else could convince the layman of that, the portly volumes of Broome's *Maxims* (eighth edition, by Chitty) as well as the collections of Wingate, Hulkerstone, and others, of earlier date, would leave no doubt as to the dread seriousness of the topic for lawyers and the weight accorded to it.

These maxims are of varied origin. Some come from the *Digest*, especially 50, 17, *De diversis regulis iuris antiqui*. Others were prepared in those idyllic days when judges and chancellors in England, solicitors, proctors, attorneys, clerks, and advocates, knew and used Latin for other purposes than that of passing an examination preliminary to their admission to the bar. At the present time, it may be, the presence of these phrases in ponderous decisions gives a certain flavoring of learning, a little musty *bouquet* to what seems a rather dry wine. But they are none the less used for a distinctly practical end, that of serving to subsume a complicated legal argument and of stating established law.

So, if necessity impels us to examine the case of *Banorjee vs. Hovey* (5 Mass. 11), decided in Massachusetts in 1809, we should read in the opinion of Mr. Justice Sedgwick, at page 36, the following: It is to be premised that the justice is speaking of the point at issue, namely, of an unauthorized change in a contract, which seemed, however, to have worked no appreciable harm to

the defendant. The court regards that fact as immaterial. "To this it would be a sufficient reply: *Non haec in foedera veni*. 'To this contract I have never assented.'"

Again in *Grew vs. Breed* (11 Meto. 567), decided in the same state in 1846, the court held (p. 575): "He (the surety) is entitled to the benefit of the maxim: *Non haec in foedera veni*."

It is not merely Massachusetts, nor any particular epoch in which the maxim is used. In *Ritchie vs. Coates* (3 Yeats 531, 540), decided in Pennsylvania in 1803, we read: "Yates, J.: The plaintiff has contracted for one thing and has received another. He may justly explain, *Non haec in foedera veni*."

In *Bethune vs. Dozier* (10 Ga. 235, 239 [1851]), Mr. Justice Lumpkin said: "*Non haec in foedera veni* is an answer in the mouth of the surety."

In 1863 in the case of *Ide vs. Churchill* (14 Ohio St. 383), Ranney, J., declared: "He (the surety) is entitled both at law and equity to make a short and conclusive answer, *Non haec in foedera veni*."

And in New York in 1874 Justice Davis held, in the case of *Osgood vs. Toole* (1 Hun 167, 171), "The surety may always say: *Non haec in foedera veni*."

And the maxim has re-echoed in even more ancient and—may it be said?—more august halls. The case of *Thorn vs. The City of London* was decided in the House of Lords in 1876 (1 App. Cases 120, 127). The contractor was sought to be compelled to do work different from that which he agreed to do. The Lord Chancellor (Lord Cairns) held he need not do it. "The defendant might have said: I entirely refuse to go on with the contract. *Non haec in foedera veni*."

Every student of fourth-year Latin (rumor will have it that such persons are still to be found in schools outside of the paths of the Cocquigrues) has of course at once placed the citation. In the *Aeneid*, iv. 337-39, in what was probably the most painful moment of a much-tried life, Aeneas says:

Pro re pauca loquar. Neque ego hanc abscondere furto
Speravi, ne finge, fugam; nec coniugis umquam
Praetendi taedas, aut haec in foedera veni.

Doubtless the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack was fully aware what the source of the maxim was. It may be, too, that the erudite justices of Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Georgia read Vergil constantly and remembered him well. But they make no mention of him. Literary quotations are not unknown in judicial opinions. They are relied upon for color and adornment. But this citation from Vergil is not ornamental. The poet does not appear in his singing rôles to give a graceful interlude to these painful discussions of contractual rights and obligations. The statement is referred to as a legal principle, established and conclusive. The Mantuan is here as plainly a jurisconsult as though he were Quintus Mucius in person.

The great *American Cyclopaedia of Law and Procedure* (29 Cyc. 1058) cites the maxim in its appropriate place. So does Black's *Law Dictionary*. In Mr. Spencer's textbook on suretyship (1913), at page 294, it is called "the familiar maxim, *non haec in foedera veni*." In no instance is the Vergilian authorship mentioned. Assuredly, on his couch of asphodel, the author of *Sic vos non vobis* learns of that with an indulgent smile. Yet if Papinian and Ulpian and Gaius cited Homer with the same respect as a rescript of Divi Fratres, our ermined rulers might not hesitate to give Vergil a place by the side of Coke and Blackstone, Holt and Eldon.

Non haec in foedera veni! When the familiar words suddenly appear in this unexpected context, it needs no unusual imagination to see the courtroom dissolve before our eyes. The acrimonious debates of plaintiff and defendant are blown into space with the dust of their leathery parchments. The abstract analysis of the rights of principal and surety, of obliger and obligeo, appears as futile as the chewing of dry straw. And in their place there is a superb portico, bathed in African sunlight. A somewhat too richly attired Trojan is painfully framing a decision that is not his own. And facing him, with eyes ablaze and heaving breast, the royal Phoenician is trying to remember that she is a queen as well as a deeply wronged woman.

Strange that His Lordship and their respective Honors of New York and Massachusetts could go on quietly discussing contracts and breaches, discharges and indemnities, when in their ears there must have been ringing the wild invective:

Nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor!

Apparently, however, they did. I do not undertake to explain it. *Non haec in foedera veni*.

MAX RADIN

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ON XENOPHON, *Anabasis* i.4.13

Reuss (*Kritische und exegetische Bemerkungen zu Xenophons Anabasis*, p. 11) regards the words τὸ μὲν δὴ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ οὕτως ἐπέσθη as a gloss: "Mit diesen Worten werden die Verhandlungen der Hellen mit Kyros abgeschlossen, während im Folgenden erst mitgeteilt wird, wie dieselben dazu kamen, Kyros Anerbietungen anzunehmen. Der Abschluss der Beratung wird I. 4. 17 berichtet: συνείπετο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτῷ ἅπαν, Menons Vorgehen bestimmte das Griechenheer, den Euphrat zu überschreiten. Was mit der Berschränkung τὸ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ gesagt sein soll ist nicht zu ersehen, im Widerspruch damit steht I. 4. 17, τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἅπαν. Das erst in 17 das ganze Heer zum Uebergang sich entschliesst, ergiebt auch die

Vergleichung von I. 4. 17, οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλας ὄντες, mit Diodor. xiv. 21, οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται ταῖς ἐλπίσι μετewορισθέντες ἐπέισθησαν ἀκολουθεῖν."

The substance of Reuss's contention is that there is a contradiction. Xenophon begins by saying that τὸ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ was persuaded to cross by the liberal promises of Cyrus. But the subsequent narrative shows that the decisive element was the action of Menon and his troops.

The situation as described by Xenophon is as follows: At Thapsacus on the Euphrates Cyrus finally announced the objective of the expedition. This information was conveyed by the generals to the assembled soldiers; they refused to proceed without extra pay. The generals reported this demand to Cyrus. Naturally some time elapsed before Cyrus' favorable answer was communicated to a second meeting. It is during this interval that Menon, seeing an opportunity of increasing his prestige with Cyrus, assembled his own soldiers apart from the others, without waiting for the second general meeting which he knew would be held to hear the report of the generals. The two meetings were in progress at about the same time. The main body (τὸ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ), consisting of all but Menon's contingent, was persuaded to advance by Cyrus' liberal promises. Meanwhile Menon addressed his own troops and by other arguments persuaded them to cross the river. In all likelihood he knew of Cyrus' reply, but he made no reference to it in his speech. Afterward Cyrus crossed and τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἅπαν followed him. There is no contradiction here. τὸ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ and τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἅπαν refer to exactly the same body, the Greek division minus Menon's contingent.

The passage cited from Diodorus has no bearing on this question. The rest of the army may, as Diodorus says, have been influenced in their decision to cross by the action of Menon's contingent, but Xenophon nowhere says so. The soldiers referred to in I. 4. 17, οἱ μὲν δὲ στρατιῶται ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλας ὄντες κ.τ.λ., are those of Menon, not the main body. They also are referred to in I. 4. 16, τῷ στρατεύματι. To these troops after they had crossed the Euphrates Cyrus sent a message of approval coupled with a vague but attractive promise of future benefits—ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ ἐπαινέσετε ἐμοὶ μελήσει. Menon he rewarded in a more substantial way. Afterward he himself crossed and the rest of the army followed him, pursuant to their decision to accept Cyrus' offer of increased pay. There is nowhere in Xenophon's narrative even the slightest indication that their action in crossing was in any way due to the previous crossing of Menon's troops.

Xenophon's account is perhaps not as clear as it might be, but no attentive reader need fail to follow it. American editors, seeing no difficulty, make no comment. However, in view of the fact that Reuss's arguments are substantially reproduced with approval in a standard German edition (*Xenophons Anabasis erklärt von Rehdantz, sechste Auflage bearbeitet von Carnuth, 1888*), a brief note would not be out of place.

ROBERT J. BONNER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

General Comment

[Edited by Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The University of Missouri.]

Mr. J. A. R. Munro has been elected rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. Mr. Munro is known in connection with archaeological work in Asia Minor, and he has contributed numerous papers dealing with problems of Greek history to the *Journal of the Hellenic Society*. He succeeds the late W. W. Merry, everywhere known as editor of Homer and Aristophanes.

At the meeting of the Classical Club of Greater Boston, held at the Browne and Nichols School in Cambridge in December, the topic for consideration was "Internationalism in the Light of Classical Tradition." Professor W. S. Ferguson spoke on "Hellenistic Greece"; Professor Clifford H. Moore dealt with "Imperial Rome"; Mr. Ralph Adams Cram discussed "The Mediaeval World."

In the *Educational Review* for December, 1919, Professor John William Hewitt, of Wesleyan University, gives a very vivid account of a certain (Greek?) professor's experiences at Plattsburg. This paper, entitled "A Rat in a Strange Garret," depicts a man of such readiness in adapting himself to novel surroundings that it seems pretty clear that he has learned valuable lessons from Xenophon and the Ten Thousand.

On December 15 Viscount Grey addressed a gathering of students in the Harvard Union on the subject of "Recreation." From his own experience he spoke of the refreshing value of reading, showing how he had derived pleasure and advantage from Plato and Gibbon in his quiet hours. He also recounted in detail a delightful tramp in company with Colonel Roosevelt, devoted to the study of the songs of British birds.

A long article on "Vocabularies," contributed by Mr. J. A. Magni to the *Pedagogical Seminary* for September, 1919, concludes with the statement that "the classics are an aid in acquiring a vocabulary." This is declared to be self-evident; yet numerous tests are cited to show that persons knowing the classics possess larger vocabularies than do those who have no classical knowledge. Mr. Magni asserts confidently that even one or two years' study of the classics is valuable and quite worth while.

On November 14 the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies held a meeting in Houston Hall at the University of Pennsylvania. The program was as follows: "Harvard's Plight," by John Jay Chapman; "The Yellow Peril to English Speech," by Edward P. Mitchell; "On the Teaching of Greek and Latin," by Arthur C. McGiffert. The officers for the year are: president, George Depue Hadzsits; first vice-president, Harvey M. Watts; second vice-president, Laura H. Carnell; treasurer, Fred. J. Doolittle.

The departments of Greek and Latin of the University of Pennsylvania, in conjunction with the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies, provided for six public lectures and readings during November and December. The course arranged was as follows: "Homer," by Professor H. Lamar Crosby; "Euripides," by Professor William N. Bates; "Theocritus," by Professor W. W. Hyde; "Plautus," by Professor Roland G. Kent; "Horace," by Professor J. C. Rolfe; "Pliny," by Professor W. B. McDaniel. The lectures were brief and a large part of the hour was given to reading in translation from the authors.

The thirty-fourth annual meeting of the American Historical Association met at Cleveland, December 29-31. On the afternoon of the last day of meeting a joint conference was held of the sections of ancient and medieval history, with Professor A. E. R. Boak, of the University of Michigan, in the chair. The general subject for discussion was, "The Historical Background of Some of the Issues before the Peace Conference." The speakers were as follows: "German Historian and Macedonian Imperialism," John R. Knipping, of the University of Michigan; "The Epirus-Albania Boundary Dispute in Ancient Times," Herbert Wing, Jr., of Dickinson College; "Roman Policy in Armenia and Its Significance," David Magie, of Princeton University.

The fifty-first annual meeting of the American Philological Association, in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute of America, was held at Pittsburgh, December 29-31. This meeting was originally planned for the University of Toronto, but owing to the appearance of smallpox in Toronto it was deemed advisable to make a change in the place of meeting. Papers were presented by many eminent classical scholars. At one of the joint sessions the general subject for discussion was "Archaeology and Classical Philology." The purpose of this session was "to outline the relations of archaeological excavation and research in the important parts of the ancient world to the classical philologist and his work." Among the speakers at this joint session was the president of our association, Professor Laing, who dealt with Italy.

Professor George E. Howes, since 1905 Garfield professor of ancient languages at Williams College, has recently been appointed dean of the college. Since 1917 Professor Howes has been connected with the Fuel Administration, and in January, 1919, he was made executive secretary. He was likewise made historian of the Fuel Administration, and in this capacity he has had charge of the report that is soon to be submitted to Congress. This report later will be published in several volumes. Before his appointment to the Garfield professorship Dean Howes was professor of Greek at the University of Vermont. He has been actively connected, as secretary-treasurer or as president, with the New England Classical Association ever since its organization in 1906. Professor M. N. Wetmore, of Williams College, has been appointed for the unexpired period as secretary-treasurer of the association, as Dean Howes felt forced to resign because of his heavy duties.

In *Education* for November, 1919, Mr. E. E. Cates, of Los Angeles, California, asks the question, "Are Our Schools Producing Results?" Probably no one else has any doubts about this matter, although there may be considerable difference of opinion as to whether the results be good or bad, satisfactory or unsatisfactory. He points out that the argument of preparing the student to deal with real problems of life has gained a popular hearing, with the result that fads and vocational training are strangling the three R's. All this is attested by the sad state of the language employed by the great body of pupils everywhere. The point is well made that it is just as important for a boy to know how to use good language as it is for him to know how to draw and to make a flower pot. As he says, the one lesson needed now above all others is "immediate and willing obedience to constituted authority." He holds that high-school and college students are untrained and inefficient, this being due to narrow specialization and haphazard election in studies. "We need to get back to the humanities—not to the humanities of Greece and Rome, as expounded at Oxford and in some universities in America, but to the humanities of the twentieth century. For the study of the real humanities implies a working knowledge of mankind—of man." To ignore the part recently played by Oxford men is to argue one's self profoundly ignorant of facts. Will intelligent teachers allow such stupid statements to go unchallenged?

For some time past the editor of the *Oxford Magazine* has been overwhelmed by letters from correspondents dealing with the Greek question. The recent issues of this magazine contain discussions of this problem from every conceivable point of view. For instance, a soldier returned from the front heartily resents the common cry that the war has taught us to want what is useful. In a letter, November 7, we seem to have a critical situation revealed analogous to what has developed in our own country in recent years. The writer, Mr. H. J. Paton, thinks that now the main object of compulsory Greek is to

prevent its being banished from the smaller schools. While admitting that this method of saving Greek is clumsy, yet he thinks that the end at stake justifies it. At any rate, he insists, before giving up compulsory Greek, the university should see to two things. In the first place, some sort of scheme should be worked out to provide at least one teacher of Greek in every educational community so that every boy and girl shall still have an opportunity to study it. And in the second place, a thing of even greater importance, as he sees it, a wider and more liberal education should be provided in connection with modern subjects. He holds that the modern schools are overspecialized, and do not at the present time, like the school of *literae humaniores*, offer an opportunity for studying with thoroughness the language, literature, history, and philosophy of two or even of one country. Until such a school has been established, the old *literae humaniores* must be retained even in face of the now resounding cry that it is for those alone who belong to the higher social scale.

The *Journal of Education* for November contains the summary of a paper, "The Teaching of English," read by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch before the Educational Science Section of the British Association which met at Bournemouth in September. Emphasis is laid upon the value of English for English-speaking people and a strong plea is made for its having a prominent place in education. The thesis is upheld that training in one's native tongue is of first importance, however many other languages one may know. The text taken is the "conjecture propounded by Don Quixote to Don Diego de Miranda that the divine Homer wrote in Greek and not in Latin because Greek happened to be his native tongue." Sir Arthur holds that as a man speaks best in the language in which he habitually thinks, English should not be treated as a "special subject," but should form the basis of all instruction where it is the native tongue. Of the five main branches of learning—languages, mathematics, natural science, history, literature—he is inclined to think that too much time is given to linguistics and to mathematics. "Until a child reach fourteen or fifteen let him practice the language natural to his mind, and one other: and let him practise English so that it be equally serviceable to him in his later studies, whether he go on to specialize in literature, history, natural science, or aught else." What other language, then, shall the child study? "I vote for Greek," says Sir Arthur. Among the reasons given is the fact that Greek is the language of the New Testament on which we base our Christian morality, and it is likewise the basis of modern scientific nomenclature. "Greek has—over Latin, at any rate—three tremendous advantages. (1) It is, as the Romans themselves confessed, an incomparably finer language, at once more copious and more delicate. (2) It is the key to an incomparably finer literature. (3) Whereas 'easy' authors in Latin are sadly uninteresting, in Greek one can get the child interested at once in Homer, in Herodotus, in the Gospels—three of the most fascinating works in the world, whatever else we may add in their praise."

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Miss Bertha Green, Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

Athens

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens will be conducted during the year 1920-21 on the pre-war basis, and properly qualified students are invited to announce their intention of enrolling. Unusual advantages are offered in the way of both study and travel. Those who are admitted to residence in the building of the school will not find the cost of living as high as in the other capitals of Europe. Inquiries may be addressed to Professor Edward Capps, of Princeton University, or to Professor E. D. Perry, of Columbia University.

Two fellowships are open to candidates, yielding stipends of \$1,000 and \$800 respectively. Examinations for fellowships will be held on March 22, 23, and 24, 1920.

Candidates for fellowships must pass examinations in modern Greek and in three of the following subjects: (1) Greek architecture, (2) Greek epigraphy, (3) Greek sculpture, (4) Greek vases, (5) Pausanias and the topography and monuments of Athens, (6) general Greek archaeology, i.e., pre-Hellenic antiquities of Greece, bronzes, coins, gems, terra cottas, jewelry, etc., and painting.

Anyone who desires to take the examinations should inform the chairman of the Committee on Fellowships, Professor Samuel E. Bassett, Burlington, Vermont, before February 15, 1920, and at the same time indicate which three of the six subjects he selects.

It is strongly urged that candidates submit to the Committee on Fellowships any papers, whether printed or in manuscript, which they have written on archaeological subjects. The quality of these papers will in part determine the award of the fellowships.

Further information with regard to the fellowships may be obtained from the chairman of the Committee on Fellowships.

California

San Francisco.—The twenty-first annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was held in San Francisco, November 28 and 29, 1919. The president, Professor H. C. Nutting, of the University of California, presided at all the sessions except the second, at which Professor J. S. P. Tatlock, of Leland Stanford Junior University, occupied the chair.

The program was as follows:

"The Romantic Development of the Doctrine of the Relation of Poetry to Morality," by Professor Raymond M. Alden, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; "Ludvig Holberg's *Iter Subterraneum*," by Professor Andrew R. Anderson, of the University of Utah; "The Song of Songs and Fray Luis de Leon's Translation of It into Spanish," by Professor Carlos Bransby, of the University of California; "Gender of the Words for Sun and Moon in the Germanic Languages," by Mr. Clair Hadyn Bell, of the University of California; "A Bibliography of the English Language," by Dr. Arthur G. Kennedy, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; "The Four Daughters of God in Italy," by Professor Hope Traver, of Mills College; "Certain Prefixes Meaning to grasp," by Professor Clarence Paschall, of the University of California; "An Interpretation of a Passage in the *Silvae* of Statius," by Professor William A. Merrill, of the University of California; "The Homeric Oath," by Professor Max Radin, of the University of California; "Another Spanish Version of the Legend of Judas Iscariot," by Professor C. G. Allen, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

Indiana

Mishawaka.—Mishawaka High School has a Latin Club open to the pupils in the second year. The purpose of the organization is to furnish an added incentive to the pupil to continue his Latin study. The aim is work rather than fun, yet a real party was given the last week in October.

The initiation of the new Caesar class was the chief feature of this party. As each candidate entered he was required to give the password, namely, the principal parts of *fero*. When the entire group had been admitted the augur took the auspices, for it was felt nothing should be done until the gods had shown their consent. When the *auspicia* were declared *secunda*, the class was taken to pans of water and each person was instructed to bob for an apple. A Roman numeral had been cut on each apple and of course each numeral represented a labor to be performed; for example, no. 1 declined *hostis*, no. 2 gave the rule for the ablative of means. After this was done, the *candidati* were allowed to meet the ghosts of Cicero and Caesar, and the advice that these worthy ancients gave was well worth following. Then "Te Cano Patria" and "Milites Christiani" were sung, and one of the boys sang "A Cat Sedebat on a Fence" from Miss Paxon's *Handbook for Latin Clubs*. Five boys gave a dramatization of Horace and the Bore, and the program was concluded with a game of charades in which were played only Latin words.

Massachusetts

Boston.—The second Forum meeting of the Classical Club of Greater Boston was held on Saturday, December 13, at the Browne and Nichols School, Cambridge. The program was as follows: General Topic, "Internationalism Today in the Light of Classical Tradition." I. "Hellenistic Greece," Professor W. S. Ferguson, of Harvard University; II. In "Imperial Rome," Professor C. H. More, of Harvard University; III. "In the Mediaeval World," Professor Ephraim Emerton, of Harvard University.

The presentation of the papers was followed by an animated discussion, opened by Mr. Frederick P. Fish, of Boston. The meeting was largely attended, and the light thrown upon modern problems by classical tradition demonstrated, in the words of Rev. Willard Reed, chairman of the Forum Committee, that the classicist is not a "prop of the past," but a "pillar of the permanent." Upon motion by Dr. D. O. S. Lowell, head master of the Roxbury Latin School, it was unanimously voted to adopt a course in the reading of the classics.

Tea was served at the close of the program.

On February 14 there will be a joint meeting of the club with the Eastern Massachusetts Section of the Classical Association of New England, to be held in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge.

Harvard University.—Professor Aristides E. Phoutrides, long a professor at Harvard, has recently resigned his position to become professor of Greek literature in the University of Athens. He has been granted a sabbatical year in advance, which he plans to spend in visiting schools and universities throughout the country with the view of reporting on methods and facilities that might prove of value in the reconstruction work in Greece.

Michigan

Detroit.—The Greek Club of Northwestern High School presented the *Alcestis* of Euripides, in translation, December 13. The cast was chosen from members of the club, which is composed of all the Greek students in the school. The physical-training department furnished and trained the chorus; the music department, a chorus leader, as well as adapting music to the translation of the various choruses; and the art department, the scenery and decoration of gowns.

The Gilbert Murray translation was used for all choruses, and the leader, who was possessed of an unusually musical voice, spoke the words to a piano accompaniment, while the chorus interpreted by dignified gestures and poses. Against a pure-white background, with center entrance arranged by two columns and a low step, the costumes, stenciled with borders of varied design and color, were most effective.

The audience honored the performance by the closest attention, which never wavered from Apollo's entrance to the exit of chorus and cast—thereby acknowledging the appeal which Euripides still makes.

The principal rôles were carried by students who had had little or no dramatic experience, but who caught the spirit of the play remarkably well and conveyed that spirit to the audience. The leading rôle of Admetos merited the generous praise it won. It was rendered by a boy peculiarly adapted in voice and appearance to the part of the king, added to which was an unusual appreciation of the play as a whole.

As a means of stimulating general interest in Greek, as well as the valuable experience accorded the few who so faithfully co-operated, we feel that the experiment of producing a Greek play in translation with high-school students is successful.

Ohio

Cincinnati's Classical High School.—The Board of Education of the City of Cincinnati has reorganized the Walnut Hills High School and has by this reorganization established a classical high school in which shall be distinctly emphasized the general academic and college preparatory studies.

Professor W. T. Semple, of the University of Cincinnati, writes:

We have never been depressed here in Cincinnati concerning the apparent trend away from a classical education. Yet just now our hopes beat especially high. For in September was realised a dream which many of us had long been dreaming, a high school supported from public funds and devoted strictly to the fundamental subjects of a college preparatory course.

It has long seemed a reasonable and proper thing that the city, who provides vocational courses for her children, should also take provident thought for those of her offspring who proposed a deeper intellectual development. And now it has been decided by the leaders of our educational thought to set apart a building, with complete equipment, for a classical or college preparatory high school.

The history of the movement dates back some years. It is not possible to give in this issue of the *Journal* a complete account of the inception and development of the idea, the names and labors of those who took a prominent part in its execution, and to describe the auspicious opening of the school under the direction of Mr. Davis. At a later time we shall hope to do so. For the present we send greetings to all of the Faith, and assure you that the watch-word from Cincinnati is "Good Cheer."

The aim of the newly organized school is stated as follows:

The school will seek to develop a scholarly type of student.

Training for leadership in professional and public life will be here intensified. Here will be given unusual opportunities for preparation for any college or university in the country.

This is stated in other terms by the superintendent in a communication to the board: "The aim is to build up and maintain here in Cincinnati a public high school that shall be of a kind and equally as good as any of the private college preparatory schools or academies of the East, so that it shall be unnecessary for any parent to send a boy or girl away from Cincinnati to obtain the kind of education that shall be best adapted to his special needs, and especially to demonstrate that no private high school can surpass a public

high school in intensive college preparation along liberal and classical lines, with history, mathematics, and the sciences taught equally well, and with music, art, physical education, and home-making, for both boys and girls, taught as an essential part of their education whether they are going to college or not."

Dayton.—At the Latin Section of the Central Ohio Teachers' Association, which met in Dayton on November 7 and 8, the following program was given, with Miss Harriet R. Kirby, of the North High School, of Columbus, as chairman:

"Aquitania as I Saw It," John D. Harlor, East High School, Columbus; "Vesontio (Besançon) Today," William S. Coy, Avondale Intermediate High School, Columbus; General Discussion was led by Miss Bertha M. Winch, Parker High School, Dayton; "How far may the very evident *present interest* in Latin displayed by the pupils of the seventh grade be taken as a safe index of *sustained and permanent interest*?" "How may we best bridge the gap between intermediate and senior high-school Latin?" "What students should be encouraged to follow the four-year course of the senior high school?" "Is the time not ripe to adopt a qualitative rather than a quantitative basis for the Latin assignment?" "What students should be encouraged to take collegiate Latin?" "How far do the university conditions prevalent in the freshman year tend to discourage candidates for advanced courses in the classics?"

The officers for the coming year are: Miss Bertha M. Winch, Parker High School, Dayton, president; Miss Ethel Davies, Troy High School, Troy, secretary.

Pennsylvania

Pittsburgh.—The fifty-first annual meeting and semicentennial anniversary of the American Philological Association was held in Pittsburgh, December 29-31, 1919, in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute of America. The annual address was given by the president of the Association, Professor John Adams Scott, Northwestern University, on the subject, "The Arguments Which Have Convinced Me of Homeric Unity."

The program was as follows:

"The Spirit of Comedy in Plato," William Chase Greene, Groton School; "Catullus as a Story-Teller," Arthur L. Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College; "The Publication of Martial's Poems," Evan T. Sage, University of Pittsburgh; "The Place of Sulpicius Severus in Miracle Literature," Karl P. Harrington, Wesleyan University; "Oral and Written Pleading in Athenian Courts," George M. Calhoun, University of California; "George Soares, a Contemporary Greek Satirist," Aristides E. Phoutrides, University of Athens; "The Latin Language," Roland G. Kent, University of Pennsylvania; "The Church," Elmer T. Merrill, University of Chicago; "The Pagan Reaction," Clifford H. Moore, Harvard University; "Claudian," John C. Rolfe, University of Pennsylvania; "Servius, a Fourth-Century Bookworm," Norman W. DeWitt, Victoria College, Toronto; "The Attitude of St. Jerome toward Pagan Literature," Arthur Stanley Pease, University of Illinois; "The Romantic Element in Greek Literature," J. A. K. Thomson, Harvard University; "The Limitations of Latin Poetry," Dean P. Lockwood, Haverford

College; "*Quadrupes eques* in A. Gellius xviii. 5," A. J. Bell, Victoria College, Toronto; "*On Respondebo tibi ὅσπερον πρότερον Ὀμηρικῶς* Cicero *Att.* i. 16. 1," Samuel E. Bassett, University of Vermont; "The History of the Association," Frank Gardner Moore, Columbia University; "The Philological Association of the Pacific Coast," Jefferson Elmore, Leland Stanford Junior University; "Fifty Years of Comparative Philology in America," Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University; "Fifty Years of Classical Studies in America," Paul Shorey, University of Chicago; "Scholarship and Pedagogy," Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University; "Antiquity and the Education of the Future," Sir Robert A. Falconer, C.M.G., University of Toronto; "The American Classical League," Andrew F. West, Princeton University.

At a joint session with the Institute the general subject was "Archaeology and Classical Philology." The purpose of the session was to outline the relations of archaeological excavation and research in the important parts of the ancient world to the classical philologist and his work. The following papers were read: "Egypt," C. T. Currelley, Royal Ontario Museum; "Mesopotamia," Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania; "Greece," Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University; "Italy," Gordon J. Laing, University of Chicago.

The Classical Club of the University of Pittsburgh conducted its annual election of officers in Roman fashion. The candidates appeared *in toga candida* and observed all the formalities appropriate to the occasion. The realism of the election may be inferred from the fact that two prosecutions *de ambitu* are in prospect for future meetings. The engagement of a member of the club offered the opportunity to hold two marriages, one by *confarreatio*, the other by *coemptio*. So far as possible the ancient ceremonies were imitated. The club attempts to follow the ancient practice in its political and legal activities also. The annual play, to be presented in the spring, will be the *Phormio*. The translation will be made by advanced students in the Latin department. There is much interest shown throughout the University in the club.

The Classical Association of Pittsburgh and vicinity held the third meeting of the year 1919-20 at the Schenley High School, Pittsburgh, on November 29, 1919. The next meeting will be held at the University of Pittsburgh on February 7, 1920. Two later meetings will be held in March and April.

The Latin department of the University of Pittsburgh is issuing a monthly news letter to all teachers of Latin and others interested in the Pittsburgh district. It contains publicity material, suggestions to teachers, current events, notices of new books, and important journal articles, personal notes, etc. It is intended to be a channel of communication between the Latin department and the secondary schools.

Book Reviews

The Poetry of Lucretius. By C. H. HERFORD. Manchester: The University Press (published for the John Rylands Library), 1918. Pp. 26.

Herford's lecture on *The Poetry of Lucretius* is the noblest English essay on the Latin poet since death halted the pen of Sellar. Not presenting a mere catalogue of the obviously poetic passages in the *De Rerum Natura*, Herford with compelling eloquence and with refined intuitions searches into the poetic motives that underlie the epicurean system of philosophy to which the poetic soul of Lucretius responded with intense and sure enthusiasm.

It is a notable essay that begins this treatise. Herford reveals the fallacies of Aristotle's dogmatic thesis and shows that poetry is implicit in Nature and her laws as really and as richly as in human action. Lucretius recognized the continuity, infinity, and identity of mind or human experience and of the external universe. Thereby, much more truly than by the mythologic process or by the vagaries of animism, participation and response between the individual and the universe became a possibility for the poet. Not only that, but these abstract symbols became the inspiration for limitless aspiration and infinite passion, carrying man outside of self into a vision of the world quite beyond the ken of scientific apprehension.

Again, in comparing Lucretius with his precursors from whom he inherited his rich legacy of ideas, Herford points out the differentiating prophetic fervor of the Roman poet who seized the inner significance and realized the fertility of the atomic theory of Democritus. This is done in a vivid fashion that breathes in every line of an intimate acquaintance with the spirit of Democritus, Epicurus, and Lucretius.¹ The author contrasts the historic Epicurus, saintly recluse, yet timid humanitarian, with the idealized Epicurus of Lucretius, a gigantic Prometheus who dared travel beyond the flaring bulwark of the spheres. It is this poetic transfiguration of a pragmatic world that betrays the exaltation of the Roman poet,² whose complete grasp of a science of Nature was translated in his didactic treatise into the terms of a gospel of salvation.

Whether Herford treats the negative side of Lucretius' exposition, its annihilating destruction of the religion of fear and the devastating fear of death, on the constructive side, the author displays a power of penetration

¹ Herford does not do justice to Empedocles.

² Cf. p. 13 for a splendid refutation of the superficial wormwood-honey theory.

and expression which will prove a revelation to many other writers who have essayed to discover the poetic realities of Lucretius. The conflict with fear becomes clearly a colossal drama in which Man, as protagonist, struggles against Superstition, Caprice, and Chaos. That Lucretius' imagination shudders before the very fear "his logic is in the act of plucking up by the roots" merely establishes the truth of ancient dramatic theory that the tragic poet himself must feel in order to inspire pity in others. I know of no better exposition of the poetic elements inherent in the theme and of the poet's response to his opportunities than Herford has given us. It is the world-old and the world-new dream of a new and perfect order to supplant the errors and the frauds of the old. Herford¹ has entered deep into the tangible and the intangible world of Lucretius' visions. Likewise the author properly discovers the poetry in Lucretius' constructive work to lie in his conception of atomism as a gigantic epic of the universe and of man's struggle through the ages to intellectual and moral victories. Lucretius' search for the permanent was a great spiritual adventure; with acute and exquisite resources of sense and of reason he established his theory, intent all the while upon the sublime aspects of atomism.

While seeing in life and nature the passing modes of existence and beholding the creative energy and the vanishing moment of the atom with equal rapture, spellbound, Lucretius' abounding appreciation of life was balked by the mystery which his atomism could not explain. Herford's account of the significance of the Earth-Mother to the poetic mind of Lucretius is true and is splendidly drawn. Yet I cannot agree with the author that the Venus of the invocation is but a symbol of boundless creative energies, although a bold rehabilitation of the Goddess of Love. In the epicurean system, religion was well defined and man's attitude of admiration and of adoration toward divine perfection is quite clear.² The religious fervor, which Herford does not discover, is an essential in Lucretius' poetic interpretation and imagination and adds a glow to the passing radiance of earthly creation. But the dispersal of atoms carried with it to Lucretius' sensuous imagination an enormous sense of melancholy over the inevitable dissolution. We feel throughout the *De Rerum Natura* a keen appreciation of the tragedy of ephemeral pseudo-existences, merely momentary combinations of matter in time and space. This sympathy with Nature and man, always essential to the greatest poetry, was the natural product of a strong intellect and a far-reaching vision. Even in the midst of a brave exposition of his theory of destruction, Lucretius was profoundly moved by the awe-inspiring drama, and his own nature was in subtle harmony with the tragedy of man and the universe.

¹ It is a pity the author did not avail himself of the opportunity presented by the chant of iv. bb.: Great Pan is dead.

² See, e.g., "The Lucretian Invocation of Venus," *Classical Philology*, II, 187-92.

Herford's conclusion that in the *De Rerum Natura* there exists a rare union of the functions and temper of science and poetry has been amply demonstrated, and a brief essay of twenty-six pages will remain indispensable for future readers of the Latin poem. But fine criticism is, perhaps, spun a bit too fine, which, at the close, credits Lucretius with a prophetic anticipation of Dante and Shelley and which reads into the poem a gospel of love, pervading all and drawing the whole together.¹

¹ American readers will no doubt wonder at the use of "ineluctable," pp. 18 and 24. The punctuation (pp. 10 and 11) of the sentences beginning "While the poets of his own time" and "While the measure of his attachment to poetry" is most surprising.

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